

STEREOTYPES OF TRANSGENDER WOMEN AND MEN:

CONTENT, STRENGTH, AND VALENCE

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### Abstract

Evidence suggests that discrimination is a frequent occurrence for many transgender individuals (i.e., individuals who were born female but identify as men or who were born male but identify as women, respectively). There is little empirical evidence, however, to explain why this is so. Previous research has shown that cultural stereotype content, which reflects common beliefs about the characteristics of an outgroup, is associated with prejudice and discrimination against the outgroup in question. For example, the stereotype content model proposes that the degree to which cultural stereotypes of outgroups are warm and competent is due to their position in society relative to the ingroup; variation along these dimensions has been shown to predict the nature of the prejudice and discrimination directed against the outgroup. To identify beliefs about transgender men and women, the cultural stereotypes of transgender individuals were investigated using qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Study 1 utilized focus groups to investigate the beliefs that university students hold about transgender men and women. Eight themes emerged from the thematic analysis of these data. Traits extracted from these themes were then added to a previously developed list of traits and distributed to a larger group of students in an Internet survey (Study 2). This survey asked participants to rate these traits on the degree to which they are included in the cultural stereotype of either transgender men or women, and on the degree to which they personally believe them to be characteristic of transgender men or women. The survey data were analyzed to reveal the content, strength, and valence of stereotypes of transgender men and women. The cultural stereotype of transgender men was more strongly negative than was that of transgender women. This result was not observed in participants' personal stereotypes of transgender individuals. Furthermore, participants' reported cultural stereotypes were negatively correlated with the transprejudice they espoused such that

the higher their transprejudice scores, the more negative were the stereotypes they reported. The implications of these findings for conceptualizations of transprejudice are discussed, limitations of a commonly used measure of stereotype content are highlighted, and suggestions for future research based on the present results are provided.

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## List of Abbreviations

CSS: Cultural Stereotype Scale

MI: Multiplicative Index

NCTE: National Centre for Transgender Equality and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force

PECS: Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotypes

SCM: Stereotype Content Model

TS: Transphobia Scale

VST: Valence of Stereotype Traits

WCS: Warmth-Competence Scale

### Stereotypes of Transgender Women and Men: Content, Strength, and Valence

Research on the lives of transgender individuals (i.e., “people who have gender identities, expressions, or behaviours not traditionally associated with their birth sex;” Gender Education and Advocacy, Inc., 2001, para. 3) suggests that they are frequently victims of discrimination. Indeed, the pervasiveness of discrimination against transgender individuals has led some to conclude that the majority of transgender men (i.e., female-to-male transgender individuals) and women (i.e., male-to-female transgender individuals) can expect to experience some form of discrimination in their lifetimes (Kenagy, 2005; Lombardi, 2009). Transgender individuals may experience institutional discrimination (i.e., structural biases against a social group that are entrenched in institutions’ policies and procedures; Morrison, Morrison, Harriman, & Jewell, 2008) in the health care system (Kenagy, 2005), as well as with respect to housing and employment (National Centre for Transgender Equality and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force [NCTE], 2011). In Kenagy’s (2005) needs assessment surveys of transgender individuals in Philadelphia and Delaware ( $N = 182$ ), approximately one third of the sample reported being denied healthcare due to their transgender identity. Furthermore, the results of a recent large-scale survey of transgender people in the United States ( $N = 6,436$ ) found that the rate of unemployment in the sample was double that of the general American population and almost one fifth were denied housing due to their transgender identity (NCTE, 2011).

Interpersonal discrimination (i.e., behaviours enacted in order to hurt individuals due to their real or perceived group membership; Morrison et al., 2008) also appears to be a common experience for transgender individuals. Clements-Nolle, Marx, and Katz’s (2006) survey of the San Francisco transgender population ( $N = 515$ ) found that a high proportion of the sample had been verbally harassed (83%), physically harassed (36%), and/or sexually assaulted (59%) due to

their gender identity. Additionally, focus groups with transgender youth (aged 15-21 years) revealed that these emerging adults frequently experienced verbal and physical harassment at home and school (Grossman & D'Augelli, 2006). For example, several of the youth reported they had been physically assaulted by family members. Additionally, some indicated that their teachers insisted on referring to them by their legal name rather than by their preferred name (Grossman & D'Augelli, 2006). Overall, previous research suggests that transgender adults and adolescents are victims of discrimination in the work place, school settings, public places, and their individual homes.

Discrimination is often conceptualized as the behavioural expression of prejudice towards, and stereotypes about, the target group (e.g., Breckler, 1984; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991; Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). Research has investigated prejudice towards transgender people; including transphobia (i.e., an irrational fear or hatred of, or an emotional disgust toward, individuals who do not conform to society's gender expectations; Hill & Willoughby, 2005) and transprejudice (i.e., negative beliefs about the character and value of individuals who, in appearance and/or identity, do not conform to society's current conceptualization of gender; King, Winter, & Webster, 2009). Indeed, several scales have been developed to measure transphobia (e.g., the Genderism and Transphobia Scale, Hill & Willoughby, 2005; the Transphobia Scale, Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi, 2008) and transprejudice (e.g., Chinese Attitudes toward Transgenderism and Transgender Civil Rights Scale, King et al., 2009). Results from this relatively small body of research suggest that transgender women seem to be subject to higher levels of transphobia than transgender men (Winter, Webster, & Cheung, 2008). As well, male participants in research on transphobia have consistently reported higher levels of transphobic attitudes than have female participants

(Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). Thus, empirical research has been conducted to better understand the nature of prejudice directed toward transgender men and women. However, investigations into the motivating factors underlying discrimination against transgender men and women are incomplete as no empirical research on the stereotypes of transgender men and women has been conducted to date. Moreover, data on the stereotypes applied to transgender men and women may lead to advances in interventions around discrimination against transgender individuals and a better understanding of stereotypes in general.

### *An Overview of Stereotypes*

Stereotype content is believed to influence the nature of prejudice and discrimination (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Tajfel, 1981); therefore, an investigation of the stereotypes applied to transgender people may be a valuable addition to the extant literature on perceptions of transgender individuals. A stereotype is defined as “the collection of attributes believed to define or characterize the members of a social group” (Oaks, Haslam, & Turner, 1994, p. 1), and “is *shared*, in essential features, by large numbers of people” (Stallybrass, 1977 in Tajfel, 1981, p. 143; emphasis in Tajfel). Stereotypes are believed to exist due to the cognitive processes of categorization and accentuation. Through categorization, the differences between people are simplified and attributed to their group memberships; through accentuation, the differences between groups are exaggerated while the differences between individual members of the same group are minimized (Oaks et al., 1994; Tajfel, 1981). Several theoretical perspectives on the relationships between cognitive processes and stereotyping have been developed. Social identity theory, for example, proposes that categorization and accentuation occur in order to reduce the amount of social information that is consciously processed and enable faster decision-making;

and subsequently serve to distort social worlds (Tajfel, 1981). Unlike social identity theory, self-categorization theory posits that these processes selectively emphasize the real similarities and differences between people that are relevant to achieving the observer's goals (Oaks et al., 1994). Both theories posit, however, that stereotypes are shared within societies.

When stereotypes are described as shared what is meant is that the same or similar traits are usually used to describe a social group by most individuals in one culture (e.g., Katz & Braley, 1933; Madon et al., 2001). How the same traits come to be ascribed to a group by many different people has been attributed to inter-group relations; stereotype content is often described as arising out of inter-group conflict (Fiske et al., 2002; Oaks et al., 1994) and responsible for maintaining status quo relations amongst social groups. In addition, stereotype content seems to be based on cultural values which are transmitted by various sources (e.g., the media and to children by their caretakers; Fiske et al., 2002; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007; Madureira, 2007; Tajfel, 1981). Overall, stereotypes allow individuals to make sense of their social world; their content is similar across individuals within a culture because it is based on relatively stable inter-group relations and widely-held consensual values.

Determining stereotype content was an initial focus for social psychologists conducting stereotype research, beginning with the classic studies conducted by Katz and Braley (1933). This changed, however, in the latter half of the 20th century when the field of stereotype research became devoted largely to understanding stereotype processes and functions (see Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000 for a review). During this time, theories of how stereotypes are generated and how they are associated with interpersonal relations were formulated and, subsequently, tested (Fiske et al., 2002). The research examining stereotype content, at this juncture, was largely descriptive in nature (i.e., theories that could predict and explain the content of

stereotypes of many groups were not generated). In the past decade, however, research on the content of stereotypes of individual outgroups has shifted in favour of the development of theories of stereotype content and the relationship between this content and discrimination (e.g., Alexander, Brewer, & Herrman, 1999; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). While understanding the content, process, and functions of stereotypes of older persons remains the subject of concerted study (e.g., Boduroglu, Yoon, Luo, & Park, 2006; Hummert, Gartska, Ryan, & Bonnesen, 2004; Williams, Ylance, & Wadleigh, 2007), the remainder of the research has focused on similarities in stereotypes across groups and developing theoretical models to reflect these consistent patterns.

### *Models of Stereotype Content*

The assertion that stereotype content influences the nature of prejudice and discrimination has been factored into theories designed to predict stereotype content and explain the connection between stereotypes and discrimination. Three theories that have been developed in the past decade will be discussed: the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al., 2002), Image Theory (Alexander et al., 1999), and the Self-Control Model (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Although these models differ on several crucial aspects, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. They contribute complementary perspectives on the principles that guide the association of stereotype content with social groups.

#### *Stereotype Content Model (SCM)*

The SCM is a social structural theory that postulates that stereotype content is the product of inter-group relations. The SCM asserts that stereotype content can be consistently defined along two dimensions: warmth (which is comprised of traits such as “tolerant” and “sincere”) and competence (which is comprised of traits such as “independent” and “competitive”; Fiske et

al., 1999, 2002). The warmth dimension is related to perceived competition between groups for limited resources. An outgroup which is perceived to be uncompetitive with one's ingroup is stereotyped as warmer than those perceived to compete with one's ingroup. The competence dimension is related to power differentials between groups. An outgroup that is perceived to be more powerful than one's ingroup is perceived as more competent than those that are less powerful (Fiske et al., 1999, 2002). When the warmth and competence dimensions are arranged perpendicularly in a chart, four quadrants are apparent. One quadrant describes stereotypes that are high on competence and low on warmth (labelled "envious" stereotypes); another describes stereotypes that are high on warmth and low on competence (labelled "paternalistic" stereotypes); the third describes stereotypes that are low on competence and warmth (labelled "contemptuous" stereotypes); and the fourth describes stereotypes that are high on both warmth and competence (usually applied to one's ingroup or closely allied groups; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002). This chart is replicated in Figure 1 (see p. 87). Preliminary evidence suggests that these quadrants are associated with specific prejudiced affects (i.e., negative emotional responses to outgroup members; Fiske et al., 2007); namely, envy, pity, contempt, and admiration respectively (Fiske et al., 2002). Furthermore, each quadrant is associated with behavioural intentions described as a combination of active or passive (wherein active denotes direct, explicit behaviours and passive denotes indirect, covert behaviours) and facilitative or harmful (wherein facilitative refers to pro-social behaviours and harmful refers to anti-social, aggressive behaviours) dimensions (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007).

The cultural stereotypes of many groups (e.g., elderly people, gay men, feminists, Asian Americans, disabled people, and impoverished people) have been shown to conform to the quadrants formed by the competence and warmth dimensions (Claussel & Fiske, 2005; Cuddy et



al., 2005; Fiske et al., 2002, 1999) as specified by the SCM. For example, the “gay men” cultural stereotype was originally found to be neutral with respect to both warmth and competence, suggesting that their stereotype did not correspond to a predicted quadrant (Fiske et al., 2002). This posed a challenge to the SCM because the large body of evidence that prejudice against gay men exists suggests that they should be characterized with an envious, paternalistic, or contemptuous stereotype (Claussel & Fiske, 2005). Based on a belief that the neutral results of this study were due to heterogeneity in the “gay men” cultural stereotype, this challenge was addressed by investigating the cultural stereotypes of gay male *subgroups* in a sample of university students. Warmth and competence ratings differentiated between these subgroups (e.g., “flamboyant,” “gay activist,” “hyper-masculine,” and “crossdresser”), and many (8 of 10) showed ambivalent stereotype content (i.e., low-warmth and high-competence, or high-warmth and low-competence; Claussel & Fiske, 2005). It was determined, therefore, that the stereotypes of gay male subgroups vary along the warmth-competence dimensions as expected; yet, it is only when the superordinate cultural stereotype of “gay men” is tested that it appears to be neutral.

The hypothesis that inter-group structural relations (specifically, competition and power) predict the expected warmth and competence ratings of outgroups has been supported by correlational research in which ratings of various outgroups were obtained (e.g., Fiske et al., 1999, 2002; Guan, Deng, & Bond, 2010). For example, mainland China residents’ ( $N = 183$ ) rating scores of Hong Kong residents’ relative status and competence were positively associated ( $r = .42, p < .001$ ), while the rating scores for Hong Kong residents’ relative competition and warmth were negatively associated ( $r = -.19, p < .01$ ). Therefore, mainland residents who perceived Hong Kong residents as high status and competitive also were likely to rate them as high in competence and low in warmth (Guan et al., 2010). The SCM also has been supported by

experimental research in which the structural relationships between groups were manipulated and the warmth and competence ratings of outgroups were compared (e.g., Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Eckes, 2002; Russell & Fiske, 2008). For example, Caprariello et al. (2009) instructed university student participants ( $N = 120$ ) to read vignettes about a previously unknown social group (the Wallonians) who were said to be immigrating to their country. Participants were randomly assigned to read a vignette that described the Wallonians as either high or low in status and as either competitive or uncompetitive with other social groups. Participants rated the low status Wallonians as less competent than the high status Wallonians, and the less competitive Wallonians as more warm than the more competitive Wallonians ( $F = 6.67$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .06$ ; Caprariello et al., 2009). The hypothesized relationship between the social structural variables, the stereotype dimensions, and the emotional responses they predict, also has been supported by experimental (Caprariello et al., 2009) and correlational (Fiske et al., 2002) research. For example, in Caprariello et al.'s (2009) study, the Wallonians described as low in status and not competitive (i.e., low in competence and high in warmth) elicited more pity and sympathy ( $t = 4.60$ ,  $p < .001$ ), while the high status and competitive (i.e., high in competence and low in warmth) Wallonians elicited more envy ( $t = 5.44$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Overall, the triangulation of correlational and experimental results across these studies suggests that the SCM is relatively robust.

Evidence suggests that the stereotypes predicted by the SCM are associated with discriminatory behaviours through a relationship that is mediated by prejudiced affects (i.e., negative emotional responses to outgroup members; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). The causal connection between stereotypes, prejudice, and discriminatory behavioural intentions predicted by the SCM was supported by a series of studies in which the relationship between the

stereotypes of outgroups, the emotions felt towards them, and how they are treated in society was first measured, and then manipulated experimentally using a fictitious outgroup (Cuddy et al., 2007). In the experimental studies, the outgroup described as low-warmth and low-competence was reacted to with contempt, which then increased participants' likelihood of predicting that group would be subjected to active harm behaviours (i.e., those "conducted with directed effort to overtly affect the target group" p. 633) and passive harm behaviours (i.e., those "that are conducted or experienced with less directed effort but still have repercussions" p. 633; overall harm effect size  $\eta_p^2 = .23$ ; Cuddy et al., 2007). In addition to the self-report data, preliminary neuroimaging evidence has shown that patterns of activity in participants' brains differentiate between groups represented in the low-competence and low-warmth quadrant (e.g., homeless people and drug addicts) and all other groups (Harris & Fiske, 2006). This implies that the stereotype dimensions, as outlined in the SCM, may predict, or be predicted by, physiological responses to outgroups in addition to social and emotional responses. When exposed to images of social groups, those images that depicted outgroups stereotyped as low in warmth and competence elicited feelings of disgust amongst study participants. Moreover, unlike the other social groups, images of these outgroups did not activate the neural centre that is connected to social perception (the medial prefrontal cortex); rather, the centre associated with viewing pictures of objects was active (Harris & Fiske, 2006). This finding provides evidence that members of outgroups in the low-competence and low-warmth quadrant are dehumanized, a reaction which has been associated with discriminatory behaviours (see Haslam, 2006 for a review). Finally, the SCM seems to have cross-cultural validity; stereotypes documented in numerous countries (e.g., Germany, China, Hong Kong, United States of America) have been

found to vary along the warmth-competence dimensions such that most fall within one of the predicted quadrants (Asbrock, 2010; Cuddy et al., 2005, 2007; Guan et al., 2010).

Although the SCM is well-supported by correlational, experimental, and cross-cultural data, it is subject to a few limitations. Originally, the warmth and competence dimensions were proposed to explain an observation that many groups are the recipients of stereotypes that are both positive (e.g., warm) and negative (e.g., incompetent), signifying ambiguity (Fiske et al., 1999). Indeed, this has been substantiated across many groups (e.g., feminists, housewives, blind people, and Asian Americans; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002). Much of the research within the SCM framework has been devoted to understanding the social structures and prejudices that are connected with these ambiguous stereotypes (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007). However, the SCM appears less able to capture the complexity of the low-competence and low-warmth quadrant stereotypes, which, within the SCM, characterize the most degraded groups in a society (Fiske et al., 2002). Little research within the SCM paradigm has been devoted to these social groups (for an exception see Harris & Fiske, 2006) and the extreme and widespread derision they often experience. For example, the common characterization of derogated outgroups (e.g., African Americans and impoverished people) as dirty and animalistic is not easily explained by the SCM as these traits are not directly related to either warmth or competence (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Further, the SCM was originally developed based on data derived from members of a dominant social group, and the hypotheses it leads to often are tested with participants from the same dominant ingroup (i.e., participants are usually Christian, middle-class, Caucasian Americans; e.g., Cuddy et al., 2004; Cuddy & Fiske, 2005; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002). Therefore, the model may not be applicable to stereotypes applied to a dominant group by members of a less powerful social group. Finally, although the warmth and competence dimensions are usually measured as

continuous variables, cluster analysis is frequently used to yield three or four clusters of outgroups that each correspond with one of the quadrants produced by dichotomizing warmth and competence (e.g., Claussel & Fiske, 2005; Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, although warmth and competence are not statistically dichotomized, they are conceptually dichotomized. This limits the complexity of the model's predictions; for example, multiple outgroups may receive low-warmth and low-competence ratings relative to the other outgroups. Although there may be a high degree of variation between the warmth and/or competence ratings given to the individual groups within this quadrant, the SCM does not currently support predictions of variation in the extent to which contempt and active harm behaviours are elicited. In the future, predictions based on the possible range of variation along each of these axes with respect to, for example, the intensity of the prejudice directed at outgroups, would be useful.

### *Image Theory*

Like the SCM, Image Theory utilizes structural inter-group relations to predict and explain stereotype content (Alexander et al., 1999). Image theory is a structural and functional approach that originated in political science research and has only recently been introduced to social psychology. This theory hypothesizes that stereotype content varies along three dimensions that are based on how the ingroup perceives itself relative to the outgroup: power, cultural status, and goal compatibility (Alexander et al., 1999; Alexander, Brewer, & Livingston, 2005). Combinations of these dimensions yield five “images” (or stereotypes) of the outgroup: “Allies” (high status, power, and goal compatibility), “Enemies” (similar status and power, low goal compatibility), “Barbarians” (low status, high power, low goal compatibility), “Dependents” (low power, status, and goal compatibility), and “Imperialists” (high status and power, low goal compatibility). The “Ally” image is viewed as positive and all others are deemed negative

(Alexander et al., 1999, 2005). Each image has specific traits associated with it (e.g., “Dependent” groups are characterized as “lazy,” “naïve,” and “vulnerable;” Alexander et al., 2005). Moreover, these images are presumed to result from inter-group relations and serve to justify the treatment of outgroup members (Alexander et al., 2005). Each image is associated with a behavioural tendency, some of which are discriminatory; for example, the “Dependent” image is believed to evoke exploitive behaviour from the ingroup (Alexander et al., 1999).

According to Image Theory, the structural relationships between groups underlie the behavioural tendencies, but cognitive dissonance arises when the negative behavioural tendencies (e.g., exploitation) conflict with an ingroup member’s egalitarian perception of her- or himself. The stereotype traits are then associated with the outgroup to justify their treatment by the ingroup; for example, a Dependent stereotyped group may be perceived as unable to care for their resources, thus the intervention of the dominant ingroup appears wise and charitable (Alexander et al., 2005). The hypothesized relationships between the structural dimensions, the traits, and the behavioural tendencies associated with four images (“Ally,” “Enemy,” “Dependent,” and “Barbarian”) have been supported by experimental research in which the structural relationships were manipulated and participants’ trait associations and behavioural tendencies were measured (Alexander et al., 1999); and in correlational research in which Italian stereotypes of Americans were found to be associated with political orientations (Capozza, Trifiletti, Venzzali, & Andrighetto, 2009). The images also have been found to activate stereotype trait content using an implicit measure of stereotype activation. After reading a randomly-assigned scenario that described the structural relationships associated with a particular image, participants were asked to complete an apparently unrelated task in which they read sentences describing a subject’s ambiguous behaviour (e.g., “Mike ran up to a resident in his dorm and tackled him to the floor

because...”) and then attributed it to aspects of the subject’s character. Results indicated that the attributions made by participants related to the image scenario they had read. For example, participants who read the “Dependent” scenario were more likely to attribute the depicted actions to characteristics such as immaturity (e.g., childishness; Alexander et al., 1999). Unlike the SCM, Image Theory accounts for stereotypes of more dominant outgroups from the perspective of less powerful ingroups (e.g., the “Imperialist” image is the stereotype applied to an outgroup which is perceived to be more powerful and higher in cultural status than the ingroup; Alexander et al., 2005 found that Black students had an Imperialist image of White students). Furthermore, it suggests that two interacting groups should have complementary images of each other (Alexander et al., 1999, 2005). For example, if an ingroup has a “Dependent” image of an outgroup, that outgroup is expected to have an “Imperialist” image of the ingroup. Image complementarity is based on characteristics of between-group interactions, rather than mirror image characteristics. This hypothesis has been partially supported with correlational research on the stereotypes held by members of several social groups (Native Americans, Whites, and Blacks; Alexander et al., 2005). Although this theory has been used to explain mutual stereotypes between nations (e.g., between the United States, Soviet Union, Iraq, and Iran during the Persian Gulf conflict; Herrmann & Fischerkeller, 1995), the evidence for its ability to predict the traits associated with individual group members rather than with the groups themselves (e.g., an individual Native American) is relatively weak at present (Alexander et al., 2005). Additionally, the association between a measure of prejudice and the stereotype image held of a target outgroup has not yet been investigated in this model. Therefore, it is unclear what relationship, if any, exists between image application, behavioural tendency, and prejudice level.

*Self-Control Model*

Finally, the third model of stereotype content addresses the presence of value attributions in stereotypes of outgroups. The Self-Control Model is a social representational approach which contends that the derogation of outgroups is justified by stereotypes which portray them as lacking a trait that is highly valued in contemporary Western cultures; namely, self-control (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). This model focuses on the media as the means of disseminating cultural values and constructing stereotype content via the objectification of social groups. Three types of self-control (over the body, the mind, and destiny) are integrated into the Self-Control Model. Social groups that are stereotyped as lacking control in these three areas are, hypothetically, disrespected or derogated by society (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). For example, overweight people are stereotyped as lacking control over their body; mentally ill people are stereotyped as dangerous due to their lack of control over their minds; and impoverished people are stereotyped as lazy and thus lacking control over their destiny (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Highly derogated groups (e.g., welfare recipients and Aboriginal Australians) are usually conceptualized as deficient in a blend of these three areas of self-control (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Unlike the SCM and Image Theory, the Self-Control Model suggests an explanation for the visceral reactions to and descriptions of some outgroups (e.g., as dirty, disgusting, and animalistic): The violation of a strongly held value occasions a visceral reaction which motivates strongly worded stereotypes (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). By dehumanizing the derogated outgroups with these stereotypes, discriminatory actions against them are thereby justifiable. Madureira (2007) applied the Self-Control Model to Brazilian society, which is in transition from a relational to an individualistic culture. In this commentary, Madureira (2007) emphasized the applicability of the model to individualistic cultures where the dominance of high status people is perceived as an individual



quality and a lack of self-control is perceived as an individual failing. In sum, the Self-Control Model hypothesizes that many outgroups are believed to lack self-control and that this belief leads to visceral and dehumanizing stereotypes.

As with the other stereotype content theories, the Self-Control Model is subject to several limitations. One short-coming of this model is that it does not seem to explain the prejudice against groups that are stereotyped as possessing a high degree of self-control. For example, the Asian American stereotype, which includes many positive self-control traits such as “self-disciplined” and “hard working,” has been found to be causally associated with negative affective reactions to Asian American individuals (Fiske et al., 2002; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, & Polifroni, 2008). At this time, the Self-Control Model has been applied only to negative stereotypes. However, there is abundant evidence that many stereotypes (e.g., those applied to housewives and elderly people) are ambiguous (i.e., they contain positively and negatively valenced traits; e.g., Cuddy et al., 2005; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002; Hummert et al., 2004). Therefore, the model will need to be expanded to account for the ambiguous nature of many stereotypes. Finally, although the Self-Control Model makes an important contribution to theorizing in the area of stereotype content, particularly in terms of its accounting for the visceral aspects of stereotypes of the most highly derogated social groups, it has not yet been subjected to rigorous empirical testing. Thus, its utility as a predictive theory (i.e., a theory with which valid predictions regarding the content of an outgroup stereotype and its relationship with prejudice and discriminatory behaviours may be made) is questionable.

The SCM, Image Theory, and Self-Control Model address different aspects of the stereotypes applied to social groups. The SCM explores how perceptions of a group’s status and competitiveness are expressed in the warmth and competence stereotypes applied to individual

members (Fiske et al., 1999, 2002). Image Theory expands upon these structural variables to include perceptions of an outgroup's relative power, and is best when applied macroscopically to entire groups (e.g., nations) rather than individual group members (Alexander et al., 1999; 2005). Finally, the Self-Control Model addresses the visceral aspects of stereotype content and how these stereotypes can lead to the dehumanization of outgroups (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). By addressing different aspects of stereotypes, these models offer complementary, rather than competitive, explanations for stereotype generation, content, and effects. The complementary nature of these models is apparent when their descriptions of the associations between stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination are considered together.

*The Associations between Stereotypes, Prejudice, and Discrimination*

The belief that stereotype content influences the nature of prejudice and discrimination is evident in the theoretical formulations of Image Theory, SCM, and the Self-Control Model. Image Theory proposes that behavioural inclinations towards members of an outgroup are justified by the image of that outgroup (Alexander et al., 1999, 2005). This proposition has been partially supported by previous research (Alexander et al., 1999). Experimental and correlational studies within the SCM paradigm suggest that stereotype content is associated with types of discrimination (i.e., active and passive harm behaviours) through a relationship mediated by prejudice (Cuddy et al., 2007). As well, a relationship between stereotypes and prejudiced affective reactions (such that a stronger belief in a negative stereotype of an outgroup is associated with more negative feelings about that outgroup) also has been found with types of affect that are not included in the SCM (e.g., “discomfort,” “nervousness,” “disgust,” “dislike,” “fear,” and “anger;” Ramasubramanian, 2010), suggesting that this relationship is generalizable beyond the relatively scant affective reactions specified by SCM (i.e., “pity,” “contempt,” and

“envy”). Furthermore, the SCM and Self-Control Model may be linked by the hypothesis that highly derogated outgroups are dehumanized. Indeed, evidence from neurological research conducted within the SCM paradigm (Harris & Fiske, 2006) suggests that highly derogated outgroups may not be perceived in the same fashion as other outgroups. The dehumanization of outgroups has been linked to social distancing, attributions of animalistic qualities, and discriminatory treatment (see Haslam, 2006 for a review). The finding that outgroups stereotyped as low-warmth and low-competence are dehumanized connects the SCM findings that they are subjected to prejudice and harmful behavioural inclinations (Cuddy et al., 2007), and the Self-Control Model hypothesis that visceral and dehumanizing stereotypes of outgroups (e.g., as animalistic and dirty) can justify the discriminatory treatment of these groups (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Thus, evidence from all three paradigms offers a rich description of the manner in which stereotypes are associated with dehumanization, affective prejudice, and discrimination.

The SCM, Image Theory, and Self-Control Model offer explanations for the similarities observed in stereotypes of various social groups; however, they offer only superficial insight into how specific groups (such as those who are gender non-conforming) are positioned within these models of stereotype content. Based on such research, it appears that highly gender non-conforming social groups are subjected to negative stereotypes. In a study on stereotypes of subgroups of gay men, crossdressers were stereotyped as low in warmth and competence (Claussel & Fiske, 2005). Previous research within the SCM paradigm found that other low-warmth and low-competence outgroups were reacted to with contempt and harmful behavioural inclinations (e.g., harassment, exclusion; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002). Subgroups of lesbian women have not been studied within the SCM framework; however, one of the most negatively stereotyped subgroups of lesbian women appears to be the “angry butch,” which was

conceptualized as highly masculine (e.g., “unfeminine,” “masculine,” “boyish”) and associated with negative traits (such as “aggression” and “cruelty;” Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006). Stereotypes of transgender individuals, who generally are non-conforming to the gender assigned to them at birth, are expected to be highly negative. Furthermore, in accordance with SCM theorizing, the stereotype applied to transgender outgroups can inform research on the nature of the prejudice and discrimination directed against them. Though the present exploratory research is not based on a specific theoretical approach, the value of these three theories in explaining the results obtained will be discussed.

The proposed research will investigate the content of the stereotypes of transgender men and women, and the relationship between these stereotypes and the prejudice directed against transgender men and women. As this is the first inquiry into the nature of stereotypes about transgender men and women, an in-depth approach will be taken. In accordance with best practices in the area of stereotype measurement (e.g., see Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001), the strength and valence of the cultural stereotypes ascribed to, and personal beliefs about, transgender men and women will be assessed as a means of furthering the investigation of stereotype content. This content will then be interpreted by drawing on relevant aspects of the three complementary stereotype content theories discussed.

## STUDY 1

*Purpose*

Study 1 was an exploratory examination of the stereotypes individuals ascribe to transgender men and women. Specifically, university students' awareness of the stereotypes society holds about transgender men and women (i.e., the cultural stereotypes) and the stereotypes individuals personally hold about transgender men and women (i.e., personal beliefs) were assessed. Focus groups were conducted to gather in-depth information about participants' opinions of the cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs about transgender men and women. These data informed the methodology for Study 2.

## Method

*Participants*

Participants ( $N = 16$ ) were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan's psychology research participant pool. They received course credit for their participation. Participants gathered in three focus groups ( $ns = 5, 5$ , and  $6$  respectively) to discuss their beliefs about transgender men and women. Similar numbers of women ( $n = 7$ ) and men ( $n = 9$ ) participated in these discussions. Participants had a mean age of 20.44 years ( $SD = 2.83$ ; range 19-30 years). All but one participant (who identified as Aboriginal) indicated Caucasian ethnic identities. Most ( $n = 12$ ) of the sample indicated that they practiced a Christian religion, three indicated that they did not practice a religion, and one indicated that he/she practiced spirituality. On a scale from 1 (very unimportant) to 7 (very important; midpoint 4 "neither important nor unimportant"), participants rated religion as neither important nor unimportant in their daily lives ( $M = 3.87$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ). Finally, most of the sample ( $n = 9$ ) did not know any transgender individuals to the best

of their knowledge, with the other participants ( $n = 7$ ) reporting that they knew 1 to 2 transgender individuals.

### *Measures*

*Focus group protocol.* Previous research (e.g., Madon, 1997; Morrison et al., 2008) has employed qualitative methods to ensure that the traits which are most salient to participants and specific to the group in question are included in investigations of stereotype content and valence. To this end, focus group discussions were analyzed in the present research to investigate stereotypes of transgender men and women. Further, individuals' personal beliefs about social groups have been found to deviate from their knowledge of the cultural stereotypes; thus, it is recommended that cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs be assessed separately (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Therefore, the focus group protocol (see Appendix A) was designed to elicit discussion among participants about the traits that are associated with transgender men and women by society and their personal beliefs about transgender men and women. The semi-structured interview consisted of 14 items, many of which were followed by probes that the moderator used to guide the discussion and encourage participants to provide details when needed. The items were administered to participants in order as they progressed from a broad introductory topic (i.e., gender roles), to definitions of transgender men and women (to ensure that participants possessed a uniform understanding of these terms), to cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women, and finally to participants' beliefs about transgender men and women. Specifically, the discussions addressed participants' thoughts about transgender individuals, examples of transgender people they have seen in the media or met in person, opinions about issues related to transgender rights, and reactions to images of transgender individuals (including two publicly available photographs of middle-aged transgender

individuals, and four previously validated photographs of young adults; Gerhardstein & Anderson, 2010).

Finally, participants were administered a paper-and-pencil questionnaire which included questions about their age, gender identity, race/ethnicity, religion, and contact with transgender individuals (see Appendix B). Age had a free-response format; all others had forced-choice response options.

### *Procedure*

The following procedure was approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board (see Appendix C for the certificate of approval). In accordance with Krueger's (1994) recommendations, each focus group consisted of five to six people, and was supervised by a moderator (the principal investigator). Each discussion was conducted in a conference room on the university campus. As previous research has suggested that transprejudice differs between men and women (Nagoshi et al., 2008), two focus groups were conducted: one with only male participants and one with only female participants. A third focus group was conducted with both male and female participants to obtain cross-gender reactions to the expressed stereotypes and personal beliefs. Before the discussion began, participants were asked to review and sign an informed consent form which provided information about the study procedure and their rights as participants. The form asked for participants' consent to be audio-recorded during the focus group, which also was emphasized by the moderator. The moderator then administered the focus group protocol, allowing for topic-relevant detours when appropriate. After the group discussion, participants were asked to complete the demographic survey. Participants were then thanked and debriefed. Each discussion was approximately 1.5 hours in length, and the survey took approximately 5 minutes to complete.

The focus group recordings were transcribed and combined with the notes taken by the moderator during the focus groups. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to interpret these data. In accordance with Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendations, the principal investigator examined the data to identify codes based on participants' descriptions of transgender men and women (e.g., the code "masculine body shape" was derived from attributions such as "has male physical features"). These codes were then combined into themes (e.g., the code "masculine body shape" was incorporated into the theme "sexed body shape"), and the themes were then compared to illuminate any connections between them (e.g., the themes "sexed body shape" and "abnormal" are connected by participants' beliefs that incongruence between transgender individuals' body shape and the clothing they wear make their difference from non-transgender individuals highly salient). Due to the exploratory nature of the present study, themes were not pre-defined before analysis but were allowed to emerge from the data. Rather, the goal of this analysis was an understanding of participants' beliefs about transgender individuals.

## Results

All participants could identify at least one person whom they had seen in the media or personally met who fit the provided definitions of transgender men and women. Furthermore, participants evidenced little confusion over who transgender individuals are in the resultant discussions. Therefore, the present sample appears to have some working knowledge about transgender individuals which allows them to identify and contemplate issues pertinent to them when prompted. Eight themes were extracted from participants' discussions about transgender men and women. These themes were found to apply to both transgender men and women; however, variations by gender were evident within these themes.



*Theme 1: Gendered Personality and Behaviours*

Transgender women (i.e., male-to-female transgender individuals) generally were assigned feminine gender roles. Participants believed them to have feminine personalities, enjoy feminine hobbies, and seek employment in traditionally feminine occupations. For example, when asked to describe a stereotype of transgender women, participants in Focus Group One suggested that they are perceived as nurturing and likely to be employed as a nurse or secretary. Across all three groups, transgender women were described as wearing feminine attire including dresses and make-up. They also were believed to wear wigs in order to appear more feminine.

Transgender men (i.e., female-to-male transgender individuals), however, were described more ambiguously, as possessing feminine and masculine personality traits and engaging in traditionally masculine and feminine hobbies. Focus Group One (comprised of women) participants described transgender men as “emotionally strong” and Focus Group Two (comprised of men) participants suggested that they were more likely to be aggressive. On the contrary, Focus Group Three (comprised of both women and men) participants suggested that transgender men are more feminine than non-transgender men. Additionally, transgender men were conceptualized as being interested in taking part in traditionally masculine hobbies (e.g., contact sports) or occupations (e.g., trades) but being unable to do so due to physical limitations and/or rejection by non-transgender men. For example, Hannah<sup>1</sup> (FG1) said, “It might make them feel more like a man if she [sic] gets hired as a construction worker” and “I don’t know if people would accept him at that kind of job [referring to the oil industry].” Thus, though transgender men may desire traditionally masculine occupations, several barriers (e.g., acceptance by other men) to their participation in such employment were perceived.

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<sup>1</sup> Participants are identified through a pseudonym and the number assigned to the focus group (FG) discussion in which they participated.

*Theme 2: Sexed Body Shape*

In contrast to beliefs about their personalities, transgender individuals were believed to possess the physical characteristics stereotypical of their sex at birth. Across all focus groups, transgender women were described as physically “look[ing] like a man” (Joe, FG2) including having broad-shoulders and large hands and feet. Similarly, transgender men were described as being petite compared to other men. This theme reflects participants’ beliefs that physical characteristics cannot be changed and that transgender people are recognizable because they literally look different from non-transgender men and women. The prominence of this recognizability is evident in Theme 3.

*Theme 3: Abnormal*

Participants believed transgender men and women to be highly different from non-transgender men and women and, for that reason, also to be highly noticeable. Further, this assumed difference and salience were imbued with negative connotations. Transgender individuals were described as “odd,” “weird,” “different,” and “gross.” When discussing the salience of transgender people, Peter (FG3) suggested that they “stuck out like a sore thumb.” Participants in Focus Group Two agreed that they “stand out” and are “shocking.” In general, participants believed transgender women to be more noticeable than transgender men due to the relatively lower social acceptance of a “man” wearing feminine clothing (e.g., dresses) in comparison to a “woman” wearing masculine clothing (e.g., pants). The salience of transgender individuals was linked to their unusualness or abnormality; some participants suggested that they would be less noticeable if they were more common. For example, participants suggested that “whatever is in a minority, at first anyway, appears to be more striking to the eye” (Joe, FG2) and indicated that transgender issues are “not something that’s in the media... transgender isn’t

quite there yet, it still needs to emerge for people to be educated in order to understand it” (Brad, FG2). Thus, the “abnormal” theme represents participants’ beliefs that transgender people are highly different from non-transgender people and that this difference is visually apparent.

#### *Theme 4: Rejected by Society*

The belief that transgender individuals are abnormal, and the negative connotations it includes, appears to be linked to how integrated transgender individuals are perceived to be in society. Participants believed that transgender individuals often experience rejection from society at large. Participants indicated that they are perceived as “freaks” and “outcasts.” Joe (FG2) said, “It is natural for us to fear what is the unknown, and they are quite unknown today.” This rejection often took the form of ridicule. Transgender women, in particular, were reported to often be the targets of humour in film and television; participants reported seeing caricatures of transgender women in which the incongruity between their “masculine” body and “feminine” mode of dress were emphasized. This ridicule also was believed to extend to real life. For example, when discussing the reaction to a transgender man entering a public men’s bathroom, Samantha (FG3) suggested other men would “ridicule [him] for it [his transgender identity/appearance].” Hence, participants believed that transgender individuals often experience rejection. Transgender individuals (particularly women) appear to be positioned as outsiders through media in which they are ridiculed and degraded.

#### *Theme 5: Mental Illness*

Additionally, transgender individuals were believed to be mentally ill. This sentiment was expressed in Focus Group One when a participant described them as having “something in the brain that’s not right” (Kate). This issue often emerged when discussing the position of sex reassignment surgery in provincial health care plans. Participants generally believed that it

should be given coverage similar to that provided for mental illnesses, “Same if someone has a mental disorder, it would be the same sense” (Bill, FG3). In some cases, this theme was expressed in participants’ beliefs that transgender individuals are confused about their gender identity and require therapy to resolve this confusion. For instance, Samantha (FG3) described transgender individuals as “probably confused” and Hannah (FG1) suggested that “they should talk to a therapist first [before obtaining hormonal or surgical means of transitioning] to figure out if that’s actually how they feel.” Thus, many participants equated transgender individuals’ gender transitions with mental illness. Some of the scales available to measure transprejudice (e.g., Winter et al., 2009) also include items that measure participants’ beliefs that transgender individuals are mentally ill, suggesting that this theme is not unique to the present sample.

*Theme 6: Sex Reassignment Surgery*

Surgical and hormonal means of transitioning had a prominent place in the focus group discussions. In Focus Group Three, when asked what comes to mind when transgender individuals are defined, Samantha said, “Sometimes you can’t even tell if they’re on the hormone pills.” When asked to describe media representations of transgender individuals, physical transitions were similarly mentioned, “he’s taking the hormone pills now and he wants to get the surgery when he’s of age” (Samantha, FG3). Furthermore, when directly asked about how common they believed sex-reassignment surgery to be among transgender individuals, most participants indicated that they would either assume or wonder if a transgender person, particularly a transgender woman, had had sex-reassignment surgery. Thus, having used surgical or hormonal means to alter one’s gender expression was a salient feature of transgender individuals’ experiences within the present sample.

*Theme 7: Gay and Lesbian*

Across all groups, transgender men and women were described as gay or lesbian based on the gender assigned to them at birth. Thus, transgender men (female to male) were believed to be attracted to women (and labeled “lesbian”) and transgender women were believed to be attracted to men (and labeled “gay”). Despite the fact that these attraction patterns are heterosexual based on transgender individuals’ gender identities, the sexual minority labels went unchallenged. Some participants indicated that transgender people had undergone a gender transition to better attract others who share their sex, and “wouldn’t see a lot of reason” (Brad, FG2) for someone to transition if they were heterosexual. Others suggested that transgender people were homosexual by necessity because heterosexual men and women would not be romantically interested in them, as is illustrated by the following quote, “What girlfriend is going to want her boyfriend to dress as a woman?” (Kate, FG1). In sum, the finding that transgender individuals are conceptualized as gay (transgender women) and lesbian (transgender men) reflects an underlying presumption that a legitimate gender identity is that which was assigned at birth based on physical sex characteristics.

*Theme 8: Primacy of Gender Identity versus Birth Sex*

This presumption was evident as an underlying factor in some participants’ beliefs about transgender individuals. Others, however, perceived transgender individuals as members of the gender with which they identify. In this group, some participants believed that transgender individuals were “born in the wrong body” and that they had an internal gender identity which took precedence over that assigned to them at birth. These sentiments were reflected in phrases such as, “If someone feels uncomfortable with their body they should be able to change” (Francis, FG2). These participants were likely to believe that being transgender was genetic and

not chosen; for example, “I think they’re just born into the wrong body and I just feel that the environment can’t change that, it’s more biological” (Samantha, FG3). On the other hand, participants who gave primacy to birth sex were under the impression that transgender women were “really” men and transgender men were “really” women. At times, this perspective was couched in religious justifications, “You’re born who you are and that’s the way God made you... Your gender is what God made you so that’s who you should be” (Kate, FG1). This belief was expressed via direct attributions (e.g., saying “it’s a woman?” when referring to a transgender man; Amanda, FG1), indirect attributions (e.g., saying “men that dress as women;” Frank, FG2), and pronoun choice (e.g., referring to transgender men as “she” and transgender women as “he”). These participants were likely to think that a transgender identity was a choice; for example Kate (FG1) expressed disbelief that therapy would help transgender individuals when she said, “They *want* to be who they *want* to be” (emphasis added). They also were more apt to promote the description of transgender individuals as homosexual, reflecting their beliefs that transgender individuals were “really” members of that gender to which they were assigned at birth and that their gender identity was chosen rather than inborn. Thus, there are two contradictory perspectives on the nature of transgender identities; either they are perceived primarily as members of the sex into which they were born or the gender with which they identify.

### Discussion

The themes that emerged from focus group discussions were: Gendered personality and behaviours, sexed body shape, abnormal, rejected by society, mentally ill, sex reassignment surgery, gay and lesbian, and primacy of gender identity versus birth sex. Four of these themes appear to be connected. Participants apparently believed there to be incongruence between

transgender individuals' personalities and interests (which are stereotypically those of the gender with which they identify) and their body shapes (which are those associated with the sex assigned to them at birth). This incongruence was described as highly noticeable and unusual, which contributed to the abnormal theme. The "abnormality" attributed to transgender individuals is likely a contributing factor to the rejection they are believed to experience. It is notable that most participants reported transgender individuals being rejected from society through ridicule. This may be an effort to neutralize the challenge to traditional gender norms which transgender individuals may be perceived as posing (Nagoshi et al., 2008). Indeed, characterizing transgender individuals as mentally ill also may be a method of neutralization as it positions them as ill and in need of treatment to align with social expectations, rather than as people with valid identities and experiences.

Although saliency and unusualness were both interpreted as contributing concepts to the abnormal theme, one does not necessarily follow from the other. Participants believed transgender women to be more salient, but less unusual than transgender men. Though all transgender individuals were believed to be unusual and infrequently encountered, participants appeared to be most familiar with transgender women. When asked to discuss transgender individuals, most groups spontaneously began by discussing examples of transgender women, suggesting that they are more salient than are examples of transgender men. Furthermore, there was greater hesitation in all groups when asked to define a stereotype of transgender men. For instance, Brad (FG2) stated, "I don't think I have a lot of knowledge about even what the general public thinks about a woman who chooses to live as a man. Since I've mostly seen, just through a lot of comedy, a man who wants to live as a woman." This quote also suggests the reasons why it may have been difficult for participants to access a stereotype of transgender men. Namely,

transgender men appear to be portrayed in the media relatively rarely compared to transgender women. Indeed, most of the examples provided of media representations of transgender individuals were portrayals of transgender women. Thus, despite the fact that transgender women are believed to be more noticeable than are transgender men, transgender men may actually be more unusual (i.e., uncommonly encountered by the sample).

Finally, the discovery of mutually exclusive perspectives on the primacy of sex or of gender identity to transgender identities was one of the main findings in this study. For some participants, transgender people are trying to express their natural gender identity which does not match the sex assigned to the body with which they were born. For others, transgender people are acting in opposition to their true (perhaps God-given) nature by choice. These opinions require further research as they may be highly related to transprejudice and support of transgender rights, as, for example, beliefs about the nature of homosexuality are related to support for lesbian and gay rights (e.g., Lewis, 2009).

These findings, however, are limited by the relatively small sample employed in this study and the lack of data on transgender stereotype strength and valence. Further detail on stereotypes of transgender men and women, particularly with respect to strength and valence, was thus sought with a larger sample in Study 2. The traits obtained in Study 1 were used to increase the applicability of a general list of traits to transgender stereotypes.



## STUDY 2

*Purpose*

Study 2 was designed to extend Study 1 by quantitatively examining the content, valence, and strength of university students' stereotypes of transgender men and women. As this is the first investigation of the stereotypes held about transgender men and women, little is known about the traits they may contain. Study 2 also extends the stereotype content literature by examining whether empirical indicators of strength and valence of the transgender stereotypes are associated with the degree of prejudice expressed against transgender men and women. This study combines the traits gleaned from the thematic analysis of the focus group discussions (Study 1)<sup>2</sup> with a general list of traits (Morrison et al., 2008) to determine the content, strength, and valence of cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women, as well as participants' endorsement of these stereotypes. The general list was developed based on the traits used previously to measure other group stereotypes (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 1995; Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001). The traits obtained in Study 1 were added to this general list to increase its relevance to stereotypes of transgender men and women. Finally, participants' warmth and competence ratings of transgender men and women were measured to assess the position of these groups in the SCM (Fiske et al., 2002).

*Hypotheses*

In accordance with previous research (e.g., Winter et al., 2009) that found transgender women were evaluated more negatively than transgender men, it was hypothesized that:

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<sup>2</sup> Thirty-one traits were derived from the themes developed in Study 1 and added to an extant list of traits supplied by Morrison et al. (2008). These traits correspond to the extracted themes (see Table 1) and were listed in participants' own words when possible. The entire list was then examined for synonyms and redundant words. When synonyms were found, the words that were most similar to those used by Study 1 participants were given preference to increase the likelihood of employing words with which Study 2 participants would be familiar.

- 1) The cultural stereotype of transgender women is significantly stronger and more negatively valenced than that of transgender men.
- 2) Participants' personal stereotypes of transgender women are stronger and more negatively valenced than those of transgender men.

Previous research (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008) also suggests that men evaluate transgender men and women more negatively than do women; potentially because transgender individuals are perceived as posing a threat to traditional social values (e.g., genderist and heterosexist values) which men are generally invested in to a greater extent than are women, and/or to heterosexual men's sexual orientation (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009; Winter et al., 2008; see Kilianski, 2003 for details on exclusively masculine identity, a potentially related personality variable). Thus, it is hypothesized that:

- 3) Male participants endorse stronger and more negatively valenced personal stereotypes of transgender men and women than do female participants.

Finally, in accordance with the finding that some stereotypes are associated with prejudiced attitudes (Cuddy et al., 2007; Ramasubramanian, 2010), it is hypothesized that:

- 4) Transprejudice is significantly correlated with the strength and valence of participants' stereotypes of transgender men and women, such that a higher degree of prejudice is associated with stronger and more negative stereotypes.

## Method

### *Participants*

University students ( $N = 274$ ) were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan psychology research participant pool ( $n = 237$ ) and Web portal ( $n = 37$ ). Two surveys were excluded because no items were answered. Participants were assigned to complete one of two

survey formats. Valence surveys, which measure the positivity and negativity of stereotype content ( $n = 7$  each for transgender men and women), and stereotype content surveys for transgender men ( $n = 130$ ) and transgender women ( $n = 128$ ). Participant pool members were awarded class credit for their cooperation and Web Portal participants were entered into a lottery for a \$50 prize.

#### *Valence Survey*

Participants who completed the valence surveys had a mean age of 19.86 years ( $SD = 1.66$ , range: 18 to 24 years). This sample was mostly composed of men ( $n = 11$ ; women  $n = 2$ ; one participant declined to provide a gender identity). All participants identified as heterosexual. The sample was predominantly Caucasian (64%;  $n = 9$ ), with additional participants identifying as Asian/Pacific Islander (7%;  $n = 1$ ), East Indian (14%;  $n = 2$ ), and “Other” (7%;  $n = 1$ ; not specified). With respect to religious affiliations, participants identified as Christian (57%;  $n = 8$ ) or Hindu (14%;  $n = 2$ ), and three participants (21%) indicated that they have no religious affiliation. Most participants indicated that they only attended religious services on special occasions (43%;  $n = 6$ ), followed by “never” (29%;  $n = 4$ ). For the most part, religion was neither important nor unimportant in participants’ daily lives (57%;  $n = 8$ ), one participant was below this midpoint and the rest of the sample was above it (36%;  $n = 5$ ).

#### *Stereotype Content Survey*

There were few demographic differences between the participants who completed the survey that examined the content of stereotypes of transgender men, and those who completed the survey that examined the content of stereotypes of transgender women. In both samples, the mean age of participants was 21 years. Both samples were predominantly composed of women (76%). Two respondents to the transgender men version of the survey identified with an “Other”

gender identity; they identified as a man with feminine qualities and as having no primary gender, respectively. Furthermore, both samples were predominantly heterosexual, and in each a minority of participants identified as queer. Additionally, eight participants in the transgender men survey identified as bisexual, and two participants in the transgender women survey identified as pansexual<sup>3</sup>. With respect to ethnicity, the samples were both composed of a high proportion of Caucasian-identified participants, and Aboriginal, Asian/Pacific Islander, Latino/a, Middle Eastern, and East Indian identities also were reported. High proportions of participants in each sample identified themselves as Christian or as not practicing any religion. A slightly greater proportion identified their religion as Christianity in the transgender men survey (57%) than in the transgender women survey (48%); and a higher proportion reported not practicing a religion in the transgender women survey (39%) than in the transgender men survey (28%). Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu religious affiliations also were present. In both surveys, participants were most likely to rate religion as neither important nor unimportant (35% and 34% for transgender women and men survey participants respectively). However, a higher proportion of transgender men survey participants (43%) than transgender women survey participants (35%) scored above the midpoint on religious importance. Moreover, most reported attending religious services either never or only on special occasions on the transgender women (65%) and transgender men (57%) surveys. Finally, a minority of participants (14%,  $n = 36$ ) reported having contact with transgender friends, family members, or acquaintances. A detailed demographic profile for both samples can be found in Table 2.

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<sup>3</sup> “Pansexual” is a sexual orientation characterized by an absence of limitation or inhibition in sexual choice based on gender identity (Oxford University Press, 2011).

### *Stereotype Measures*

*Cultural Stereotype Scale (CSS; Morrison et al., 2008).* Stereotype *content* is often measured using adjective lists where participants are asked to rate the degree to which each listed trait is generally believed to be characteristic of the group in question by society (e.g., Boysen, Vogel, Madon, & Wester, 2006; Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001; Morrison et al., 2008). When a majority of participants report that a trait is believed to be characteristic of the group in question, it is deemed part of that group's stereotype. When a majority indicates that it is uncharacteristic of the group, it is deemed part of that group's counter-stereotype (Madon, 1997; Madon et al., 2001). This procedure allows for a cultural stereotype to be characterized by both the presence and absence of traits. The *strength* of a stereotype is determined using the mean of participants' ratings on a response scale from "extremely uncharacteristic" to "extremely characteristic" for each stereotype trait (e.g., Boysen et al., 2006; Madon et al., 2001). Thus, a strong stereotype will be composed of traits that are, on average, rated highly characteristic of a group; a strong counter-stereotype will be composed of traits that are, on average, rated highly uncharacteristic of a group.

To measure perceived cultural stereotypes, participants were given a list of descriptors and asked to indicate the degree to which each is believed to be characteristic of transgender men or women by society on an 11-point scale (with anchors 1 = Not at all characteristic and 11 = Extremely characteristic; see Appendix D). The CSS contains descriptors of behaviours, personality traits, and physical characteristics from Morrison et al.'s (2008) list and the traits derived from the focus groups conducted in Study 1 (total 123 items). Following Madon's (1997) protocol, the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women are comprised of the traits which at least 50% of participants rated with a 9, 10, or 11 and no more than 10% of participants

rated with a 1, 2, or 3. The cultural counter-stereotypes are comprised of traits that at least 50% of participants rated with a 1, 2, or 3 and no more than 10% rated with a 9, 10, or 11.

*Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotypes (PECS; Morrison et al., 2008).* Devine and Elliot (1995) recommend that participants' knowledge of cultural stereotypes and personal endorsement of cultural stereotypes be assessed separately. For example, Devine and Elliot (1995) found that high- and low-prejudice participants reported the same awareness or knowledge of cultural stereotypes of African Americans. However, high-prejudice participants endorsed the cultural stereotype of African Americans to a significantly greater extent than did low-prejudice participants. This suggests that high- and low-prejudice individuals are equally aware of prevailing cultural stereotypes, but differ with respect to their personal endorsement of these stereotypes (Devine & Elliot, 1995). Based on recommended practice, participants' personal endorsement of the cultural characteristics thought to be representative of transgender men and women were assessed. Specifically, participants are asked to select the five traits they feel are most reflective of society's beliefs about transgender men and transgender women (coming from the list of traits used to assess the cultural stereotype) and then rate these traits in terms of whether they personally believe these traits to be reflective of stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women. The PECS uses an 11-point scale (with anchors 1 = Not at all characteristic and 11 = Extremely characteristic; see Appendix E) and, thus, PECS scores can range from 5 to 55, with higher scores indicating stronger endorsement of the cultural stereotype.

*Valence of Stereotype Traits (VST).* The valence of a stereotype refers to the degree to which it is positive and/or negative. It is important that the valence data come from the same population as those ascribing the traits to the target group because different populations may view the desirability of attributes differently. For example, in a study of undergraduates'

stereotypes of and attitudes towards Aboriginal Canadians, Morrison et al. (2008) had undergraduate participants rate a list of traits from “very negative” to “very positive.” These traits were then presented to another group of undergraduates who indicated whether they were part of the stereotype of Aboriginals in Canada. Establishing the traits’ valences in a separate pilot study avoids the potential for valence results to be confounded with the stereotype content results (Boysen et al., 2006; Morrison et al., 2008). In the present study, participants were asked to rate the valence of the CSS and Warmth-Competence Scale descriptors for either transgender women or transgender men on a 9-point scale (with anchors -4 = Very Negative to +4 = Very Positive; see Appendix F). The data provided in the valence surveys were analyzed to determine whether the traits included in the stereotypes of transgender men and women were positive, negative, or neutral in valence (see endnote<sup>1</sup> for the analytic procedures and results obtained). The results of these analyses for the stereotypes of transgender men and women are presented in Tables 3 and 4 respectively.

*Warmth-Competence Scale (WCS; Fiske et al., 2002).* The WCS was developed to measure an essential component of the SCM; namely, the degree to which cultural stereotypes of an outgroup are perceived as warm and competent. It contains 9 traits, 5 of which indicate the degree to which the group is stereotyped as competent (e.g., “confidant,” “independent”) and 4 traits indicate the degree to which the group is stereotyped as warm (e.g., “tolerant,” “good natured”). Participants were asked to rate the degree to which society believes that an outgroup possess each trait (e.g., “As viewed by society, how tolerant are [group]?”) on a 5-point scale (with anchors: 1 = Not at all and 5 = Extremely). In the proposed study, items were modified to refer to transgender women or transgender men (e.g., “As viewed by society, how tolerant are transgender men [women]?”; see Appendix G). Competence scores can range from 5 to 25, with

higher scores indicating that transgender men or women are stereotyped as more competent by society. Warmth scores can range from 4 to 20, with higher scores indicating that transgender men or women are stereotyped as more warm by society. A factor analysis was conducted to examine the factor structure of this measure. However, the results of this analysis did not correspond with the expected two-factor solution (see endnote<sup>2</sup> and Tables 5 and 6 for a thorough description of the analytic procedures employed).

### *Prejudice Measure*

*Transphobia Scale (TS; Nagoshi et al., 2008).* The TS was designed to measure attitudes towards transgender individuals. The original version had 9 items that were based on the writings of Bornstein (1998). For the proposed study, items were modified to specifically measure attitudes towards transgender men and women (e.g., the TS item “I would be upset if someone I’d known for a long time revealed to me that they used to be another gender” became “I would be upset if a man I’d known for a long time revealed to me that he used to be a woman” and “I would be upset if a woman I’d known for a long time revealed to me that she used to be a man”). Due to these modifications, the version of the TS used in the present study contained 12 items and used a 7-point response scale (with anchors: 1 = Completely Disagree, 4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, and 7 = Completely Agree; see Appendix H). Scores can range from 12 to 84, with higher scores indicating more prejudice against transgender people. The TS has shown excellent test-retest and scale score reliability, and there is strong evidence attesting to its construct and content validity (Nagoshi et al., 2008). A factor analysis (with Oblimin rotation) was performed to determine the factor structure of the TS. The results of this analysis corresponded with the hypothesized structure (see endnote<sup>3</sup> and Table 7 for a thorough description of the factor analysis). In the present study, the alpha coefficient for the modified TS was .91 (95% *CI* = .89



to .93), which provides evidence of superior scale score reliability.

### *Demographic Measure*

*Demographic Questionnaire.* A series of demographic items was included to collect information about sample characteristics. This questionnaire consisted of the same demographic items distributed in Study 1 and several additional items that addressed participants' sexual orientation, frequency of attending religious services, the number of participants' transgender acquaintances, family members, and friends, and the amount of time spent with transgender individuals (in hours per week; see Appendix I). The sexual orientation and frequency of attending religious services items had closed-ended response options and the contact items had open-ended response formats.

### *Procedure*

The following procedure was approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board (see Appendix C for the certificate of approval). The measures were compiled into four online surveys, which were accessible to University of Saskatchewan students through a link posted to the psychology research participation webpage and the university Web Portal. Each measure was presented as a separate page, which participants accessed by clicking the "Previous" or "Next" buttons at the bottom of each page. Participants were able to skip any question except for the consent question at the bottom of the Informed Consent page. Surveys 1 and 2 contained the VST for transgender men or women respectively and the demographic questions in that order. Survey 3 contained the transgender men versions of the CSS, PECS, and WCS, in addition to the TS and demographic questions. Survey 4 contained the transgender women versions of the CSS, PECS, and WCS, in addition to the TS and demographic questions. Participants were assigned to each survey through a pseudo-random assignment protocol: the

months of the year were evenly divided between the surveys and participants were asked to complete the survey assigned to the month in which they were born. For example, when a participant who was born in October read the survey descriptions, they would see that they were asked to complete Survey 2. On the other hand, a participant born in November would read that they should not complete Survey 2 and be directed to Survey 3. Informed consent was obtained before participants were permitted to access the first page of the survey.

Transgender men and women were defined for participants at the beginning of each measure. Transgender men were defined as “people who were born female but now live their lives as men” and transgender women were defined as “people who were born male but now live their lives as women.” For the transgender men and women versions (Surveys 3 and 4); after completing the CSS, participants were asked to choose the five descriptors that they believe best represent the cultural stereotype of transgender men or women and list them on the next page of the survey. They were then asked to rate the degree to which they personally believe each of these five traits to be characteristic of transgender men and women. This constitutes participants’ personal endorsement of the stereotypes ascribed to transgender men and women. After completing the PECS, participants viewed the other measures. A debriefing form was displayed at the end of the surveys. Each survey took approximately 30 minutes to complete, and participants were not permitted to take part in both Studies 1 and 2.

### Results

Means on the modified TS for transgender men survey participants ( $M = 45.85$ ,  $SD = 16.24$ ) and transgender women survey participants ( $M = 41.80$ ,  $SD = 15.67$ ) are both slightly below the midpoint ( $M = 48$ ). This suggests that participants possessed relatively neutral attitudes towards transgender men and women on average.

To examine associations between transphobia and key sociodemographic variables, correlation coefficients were computed between TS scores and self-perceived importance of religion, frequency of attendance at religious services, and contact with transgender individuals. For the transgender women survey, TS scores were significantly associated with stronger perceptions about the importance of religion,  $r(117) = .28, p = .002$ , and greater frequency of attendance at religious services,  $r(119) = .34, p < .001$ . For the transgender men survey, a statistically significant correlation emerged between TS scores and perceptions of the importance of religion,  $r(114) = .25, p = .008$ . A statistically significant correlation also emerged between TS scale scores and frequency of attending religious services,  $r(115) = .23, p = .015$ .

As contact with transgender individuals was relatively rare in the present sample, there was little variability in the responses to the contact items. Therefore, contact with transgender individuals was converted into a dichotomous variable. Participants who reported any contact with transgender individuals were labeled with a 2 ( $n = 43$ ), and those who did not report contact with transgender individuals were labeled with a 1 ( $n = 212$ ). This variable was used as the grouping variable in an independent samples *t*-test with TS scores as the dependent variable. Participants who had contact with transgender individuals had lower TS scores ( $M = 31.87, SD = 10.94$ ) than those who had no contact ( $M = 45.96, SD = 15.89$ ),  $t(233) = 5.23, p < .001, d = 1.03$ .

Stereotype valence and strength were measured using a multiplicative index (MI; Morrison et al., 2008). Each score could be between -44 (maximally associated/endorsed, negatively valenced trait) and +44 (maximally associated/endorsed, positively valenced trait). The CSS MI was neutral for the stereotype of transgender men, but more positive for transgender women (see Tables 8 and 9). Similarly, the PECS MIs for stereotypes of transgender men and women were both positive (see Table 10). The CSS MIs for both counter-stereotypes, however,

were negative (see Tables 8 and 9).

*Stereotype content.*

To determine the content of the cultural stereotypes and counter-stereotypes of transgender men and women, the traits given a 9, 10, or 11 (extremely characteristic) rating and a 1, 2, or 3 (extremely uncharacteristic) rating by a majority of participants were examined. In accordance with Madon's (1997) criteria for trait inclusion and exclusion, traits were deemed part of the stereotype if they were given a 9, 10, or 11 rating by 60% or more of the sample (and a 1, 2, or 3 rating by 10% or less of the sample) and part of the counter-stereotype if they were given a 1, 2, or 3 rating by 60% or more of the sample (and a 9, 10, or 11 rating by 10% or less of the sample). Using these criteria, three traits emerged for the stereotype of transgender women and only one trait emerged for the stereotype of transgender men. Three traits also could be included in the counter-stereotype of transgender women, while no traits met the criteria for inclusion in the counter-stereotype of transgender men. Due to the restricted number of traits obtained using the 60% inclusion criterion, it was deemed too stringent for an exploratory study. Therefore, the criteria for acceptance into the stereotype or counter-stereotype was reduced to 50% of the sample giving the trait a 9, 10, or 11 rating (stereotype) or a 1, 2, or 3 rating (counter-stereotype). The 10% disagreement level, however, was maintained. The content of the cultural stereotypes and counter-stereotypes of transgender men and women are listed in Tables 8 and 9 respectively.

Several traits appear in the cultural stereotypes of both transgender men and women, including "confused," "abnormal," and "gay." However, participants are more likely to believe that transgender women wear make-up and women's clothes, and that they are "born in the wrong body." Alternatively, participants are more likely to believe that transgender men have

“had sex reassignment surgery” and are “outcasts.” A greater number of traits met the inclusion criteria for the stereotype and counter-stereotype of transgender women than of transgender men, suggesting that participants may have a more defined image of transgender women (and thus can more easily indicate that traits are extremely characteristic or uncharacteristic of transgender women).

Several cultural counter-stereotype traits also emerged. The presence of “attractive” in the counter-stereotype of both groups, and “sexy” in that of transgender women suggests that they are not believed to be targets of sexual attraction. Furthermore, the presence of the traits “abusive” and “criminal” in both counter-stereotypes and “violent” in the counter-stereotype of transgender women appears to suggest that they are not considered threatening by participants.

The PECS measured participants’ personal endorsement of the cultural stereotypes. Five stereotype traits (i.e., “confused,” “gay,” “butch,” “born in the wrong body,” and “outcast”) were endorsed most frequently for transgender men and women. One of these five traits, “butch,” did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the cultural stereotypes of either transgender women or men. This trait, however, suggests that gender incongruence is central to the stereotype of transgender individuals as it is usually used to refer to women with masculine characteristics. The five most commonly chosen stereotype traits from the PECS are provided in Table 10.

### *Hypothesis Tests*

#### *Hypothesis 1.*

The dependent variable of interest in Hypothesis 1 was the CSS MI (i.e., the product of the mean CSS and valence ratings of each trait within the cultural stereotype of transgender men or women). The cultural stereotype of transgender women was expected to be significantly more

negative than that of transgender men based on previous research that has found that more prejudice is directed towards transgender women than men (Winter et al., 2009).

After determining that the dependent variable was not significantly skewed or influenced by outliers<sup>4</sup>, the CSS MI data were submitted to a 2(Participant Gender) x 2(Target Gender) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA).<sup>5</sup> The expected main effect of Target Gender was evident,  $F(1, 238) = 621.38, p < .001$ . However, contrary to Hypothesis 1, the MI of transgender men ( $M = -.43, SD = .69$ ) was more strongly negatively valenced than that of transgender women ( $M = 2.79, SD = .96$ ). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

A 2(Participant Gender) x 2(Target Gender) between-subjects ANOVA on the CSS counter-stereotype MI also supports this finding, as a main effect of Target Gender was evident,  $F(1, 238) = 15.41, p < .01$ , and the counter-stereotype of transgender men was more strongly positive ( $M = -3.88, SD = 2.09$ ) than that of transgender women ( $M = -5.36, SD = 2.32$ ). These findings indicate that the cultural stereotype of transgender men is more negative than that of transgender women. Furthermore, the large effect size ( $\eta^2 = .72$ ) for the main effect of target gender in the stereotype analysis, and moderate effect size ( $\eta^2 = .06$ ) for the main effect of target gender in the counter-stereotype analysis indicate that these trends reflect practically important stereotype differences.

### *Hypotheses 2 and 3.*

The PECS MI (i.e., the mean product of each participants' PECS rating and the mean valence of each trait nominated as part of the stereotype of transgender men or women) was the

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<sup>4</sup> As none of the dependent variables under consideration displayed significant skew or contained significant outliers, this information will not be repeated for each analysis.

<sup>5</sup> This and the following ANOVAs were conducted with and without controlling for the mode of participant recruitment (i.e., participant pool or web portal). As no statistically significant differences were found when controlling for mode of recruitment, the results of the uncontrolled ANOVAs are presented.

dependent variable of interest in Hypotheses 2 and 3. The mean MI for transgender women was expected to be more strongly negative than that for transgender men overall (Hypothesis 2) and the stereotype endorsed by male participants was expected to be more strongly negative than that endorsed by female participants overall (Hypothesis 3).

The PECS MI data were submitted to a 2(Participant Gender) x 2(Target Gender) between-subjects ANOVA. A main effect of Target Gender was not observed,  $F(1, 183) = .05, p = .82, \eta^2 = 0.00$ . The personal stereotypes of transgender women ( $M = 1.45, SD = 4.89$ ) were not significantly different from those of transgender men ( $M = 1.17, SD = 4.57$ ). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the present data. The expected main effect of Participant Gender was, however, observed,  $F(2, 183) = 3.11, p = .047$ . Male participants ( $M = -.53, SD = 4.37$ ) endorsed a more strongly negative stereotype of transgender individuals than did female participants ( $M = 1.70, SD = 4.73$ ). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported; however, the small effect size ( $\eta^2 = .03$ ) makes questionable its practical significance.

#### *Hypothesis 4.*

The variables of interest in Hypothesis 4 are the CSS MI and PECS MI for transgender men and women and participants' TS scores. The cultural and personal stereotypes of transgender men and women were both expected to correlate negatively with TS scores, thereby demonstrating a relationship between prejudice and stereotype content.

Pearson correlations suggest that the CSS MI for transgender men was significantly negatively associated with TS scores,  $r(115) = -.18, p = .049$ . However, the association between CSS MI scores for transgender women ( $M = 2.79, SD = .96$ ) and transprejudice ( $M = 41.80, SD = 15.67$ ) was nonsignificant ( $r(113) = -.16$ ). The associations between the PECS MI for transgender men ( $M = 1.10, SD = 4.62, r(91) = -.003$ ) and women ( $M = 1.31, SD = 4.89, r(89) =$

-.21) and TS scores also were non-significant. These results suggest that Hypothesis 4 is partially supported by the data in that participants who reported more negative cultural stereotypes of transgender men also were more prejudiced against transgender people.

### Discussion

In Study 2, the content, strength, and valence of stereotypes of transgender men and women were investigated quantitatively. Stereotype content was obtained by recording the traits believed to be characteristic of transgender individuals by a majority of participants. The valence of these stereotypes was measured by collecting a sub-sample's ratings of the positivity and negativity of each trait. Subsequently, four hypotheses were tested.

Based on the 50% agreement inclusion criteria, six traits were deemed representative of the cultural stereotype of transgender women, nine traits were included in the cultural counter-stereotype of transgender women, and the cultural stereotype and counter-stereotype of transgender men each included five traits. Results indicate that some stereotypic traits are shared between transgender men and women. Moreover, the five traits most frequently chosen to describe the stereotypes of transgender men and women on the PECS were identical. The similarities between the CSS cultural stereotype, and the five most frequently chosen traits on the PECS suggest that a few traits may be central to the stereotype of transgender individuals. For example, "confused" and "gay" were included in both the CSS and PECS, and "born in the wrong body" and "outcast" appear in the PECS and the CSS for both transgender women and men. However, analysis of the CSS responses also alludes to differences between stereotypes of transgender men and women. For example, "born in the wrong body" was included in the cultural stereotype of transgender women but not that of transgender men. For the cultural



counter-stereotype, some commonalities between the traits ascribed to transgender men and transgender women also were found.

Many of the traits included in the cultural and personal stereotypes were assigned positive or neutral valence ratings. The evidence that transgender individuals are frequent victims of discrimination (Kenagy, 2005; Lombardi, 2009; NCTE, 2011), and that other gender non-conforming outgroups are subjected to negative stereotypes (Claussel & Fiske, 2005; Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006), suggests that stereotypes of transgender men and women would also be negative. The results of this study, however, are consistent with previous research on transprejudice, which has often found neutral or positive attitudes towards transgender individuals (e.g., Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009; Winter et al., 2008). Indeed, Glick and Fiske (2001) have demonstrated that a uniformly negative stereotype is not required to promote discrimination, and that seemingly positive stereotypes also can be used to justify widespread discriminatory practices.

Furthermore, some neutral or positively valenced traits may have negative implications nonetheless. For example, some of the counter-stereotype traits for transgender men and women (i.e., “attractive” and “sexy”) are consistent with other research that has suggested that transgender individuals are not recognized as legitimate targets of sexual or romantic attraction (e.g., Schilt & Westbrook, 2009). Moreover, though the traits “born in the wrong body” and “had sex reassignment surgery,” included in the cultural stereotypes of transgender women and men respectively, were not assigned negative valences by valence survey participants, they may place transgender individuals irrevocably in an outgroup by attributing to them characteristic experiences which are not shared by members of the dominant ingroup. Thus, they may be deprived of benefits allocated to dominant group members. The neutral and positive valences

assigned to many of the traits included in stereotypes of transgender men and transgender women are therefore not necessarily indicative of a lack of prejudice or discriminatory behavioural intentions directed at transgender individuals.

In addition to recording the traits included in stereotypes of transgender men and women, four hypotheses were investigated. Hypothesis 1 proposed that the cultural stereotype of transgender women would be significantly stronger and more negatively valenced than that of transgender men. However, the converse relationship was found; transgender men were found to be subject to a more strongly negative cultural stereotype than were transgender women. The transprejudice research is inconsistent on this point, with some studies finding more prejudice directed against transgender women (Winter et al., 2009) and others finding no difference in the degree of prejudice against transgender men and women (Gerhardstein & Anderson, 2010). Given the neutral stereotype of transgender men, the results of the present study may reflect participants' relatively greater familiarity with transgender women (which would contribute to the greater strength of the stereotype of transgender women) and ambiguity with respect to the cultural stereotype of transgender men. Due to the unanticipated nature of this finding, further examination is warranted.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants' personal stereotypes of transgender women would be stronger and more negatively valenced than those of transgender men. Instead, no significant differences were found in personal endorsement of transgender men and women stereotypes. Thus, the finding that cultural stereotypes of transgender women are stronger and more negative than those of transgender men does not extend to personal endorsement of these stereotypes. The non-significant difference between personal stereotypes of transgender men and women may reflect a concern with impression management among participants. Specifically,

participants may have reported neutral-to-positive personal stereotypes about both transgender men and women to avoid appearing to be prejudiced, thus obscuring any differences in personal beliefs about transgender individuals.

The third hypothesis, that male participants would endorse stronger and more negative personal stereotypes of transgender men and women than would female participants, was supported. Thus, a result commonly found in transprejudice research (i.e., that men hold more negative attitudes towards transgender individuals than do women; e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008) also can be observed in endorsed stereotype content. Male participants may be more likely than female participants to perceive transgender individuals as threatening to their social standing and/or heterosexuality (Nagoshi et al., 2008; Winter et al., 2009). In their review of media reports on crimes committed against transgender individuals, Schilt and Westbrook (2009) contend that a perceived threat to the (male) perpetrator's heterosexuality is often presented as the motive behind violence against transgender individuals.

Finally, as predicted in Hypothesis 4, transprejudice and cultural stereotypes of transgender men were found to be associated such that participants with higher transprejudice also reported more negative cultural stereotypes. This finding indicates that empirical measures of stereotype strength and valence can be associated with prejudice and replicates previous research on associations between cultural stereotype content and prejudice (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007; Ramasubramanian, 2010). This association may be due to the confirmation bias (Wason, 1960), which contends that prejudiced individuals may be more likely to notice and subsequently internalize negative cultural stereotypes than positive stereotypes (see Castelli, Zecchini, Deamicis, & Sherman, 2005; Werth, Forster, & Strack, 2000 for examples of this bias in the stereotype content reported for other social groups). Hence, people who are highly prejudiced

against transgender individuals may also be more likely to perceive and remember the negative traits portrayed as stereotypical of them because this stereotype supports the opinions they already hold.

This relationship, however, was only significant when the correlation between cultural stereotype MIs for transgender men and transprejudice scores were tested. Conversely, one might expect levels of personal endorsement of the cultural stereotype and transprejudice scores to be more closely associated. Indeed, Devine and Elliot (1995) found that the content of participants' personal stereotypes was related to levels of prejudice while knowledge of the cultural stereotype was unrelated to levels of prejudice. Hence, the extent to which one supports the cultural stereotype should be more closely related to levels of prejudice than mere knowledge of that stereotype. This unexpected result may be due to the relatively low variability found in participants' PECS responses, as most mean responses converged around zero. Limited variability in one variable could impede correlations from reaching significance.

Despite the nonsignificant correlation between PECS MIs and transprejudice scores, the significant correlation between CSS MI scores for transgender men and transprejudice scores makes a relevant contribution to stereotype-prejudice research. Much of the contemporary research on the relationship between stereotype content and prejudice has employed relatively generic measures of stereotype content and prejudice within a larger sample of social groups (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2007). For example, within the Stereotype Content Model paradigm, two general dimensions (i.e., warmth and competence) describe stereotype content, while prejudice is defined as one of four common affects (Fiske et al., 2002). The present study extends this previous research by demonstrating that group-specific stereotype content and prejudice are related. Thus, it may be valuable to investigate the content of stereotypes applied to specific

groups in order to more accurately predict the nature of and extent to which these groups are subjected to prejudice.

### General Discussion

The present research examined the content, strength, and valence of transgender stereotypes. In Study 1, participants met in three focus groups to discuss their beliefs about transgender men and women. Eight themes emerged from these discussions: gendered personality and behaviours, sexed body shape, abnormal, rejected by society, mental illness, sex reassignment surgery, gay or lesbian, and primacy of gender identity versus birth sex. Some of the stereotypes that emerged in the focus group discussions were distinctly negative; for example, the beliefs that transgender individuals are abnormal, confused about their identity, and social outcasts. Others were more neutral in tone, including the belief that transgender individuals displayed the physical traits stereotypical of the sex into which they were born (e.g., broad shoulders in transgender women). Although participants often expressed complimentary stereotypes of transgender men or women, in one theme (i.e., primacy of gender identity versus birth sex) two opinions emerged; namely, whether transgender individuals chose their transgender identity or whether it was inborn. These themes and discussions contributed 31 traits to a list of descriptive characteristics (Morrison et al., 2008). This list was used in the Study 2 survey to expand upon the results of Study 1.

In Study 2, the traits perceived to be representative of transgender men and transgender women, the valence of these traits, and the association between these stereotypes and prejudice toward transgender individuals were examined. The cultural stereotype of transgender men was found to be significantly more negative than that of transgender women. This result did not extend to participants' personal endorsement of the cultural representations of transgender men

and women. Male participants, however, were found to endorse significantly more negative cultural stereotypes than female participants (which is consistent with past research that has found men report more transprejudice than women; e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). Finally, transprejudice and cultural stereotypes of transgender men were associated such that the more negative a participant's reported cultural stereotype, the greater that participant's transprejudice score. Cultural stereotypes of transgender women, and levels of personal endorsement of the cultural stereotypes were not, however, associated with transprejudice scores.

Several significant correlations between the Study 2 demographic and transprejudice measures were found. Transphobia scale scores were significantly positively correlated with ratings of religious importance and frequency of attending religious services in both samples, suggesting that people who are more religious also are more transprejudiced. This is consistent with past research that has found a relationship between religiosity and racism (e.g., Johnson, Rowatt, Barnard-Brak, Patock-Peckham, LaBouff, & Carlisle, 2011). Due to limited variability with respect to participants' contact with transgender persons, contact with transgender individuals was dichotomized. It was found that participants who had contact with transgender individuals showed significantly less transprejudice than those who did not. This finding supports the central tenet of Contact Theory, which stipulates that individuals who have positive contact with outgroup members are less prejudiced against members of that outgroup (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Several similar findings arose in Study 1 and 2. Traits derived from the abnormal (i.e., "abnormal"), mental illness (i.e., "confused"), and gay or lesbian (i.e., "gay") themes extracted from Study 1 focus group discussions were evident in the cultural stereotypes of transgender men

and women found in Study 2. Additionally, traits derived from the gendered behaviours and personality (i.e., “wears women’s clothes” and “wears make-up”) and the primacy of gender identity versus birth sex (i.e., “born in the wrong body”) themes were evident in the stereotype of transgender women. Finally, the SRS (i.e., “had sex reassignment (genital) surgery”) and rejected from society (i.e., “outcast”) themes were replicated in the stereotype of transgender men. Notably, none of the adjectives derived from the focus group themes were evident in the cultural counter-stereotypes of either transgender men or women. Thus, there is a high degree of agreement between the descriptions provided in the qualitative and quantitative studies, supporting the validity of the stereotype content.

Some findings, however, differed between the two studies. First, the Study 1 sexed body shape theme was not replicated in Study 2. This theme may not be central to transgender stereotypes or the adjectives provided may not have captured it adequately. Second, Study 1’s sex reassignment surgery theme was only included in the stereotype of transgender men despite the fact that Study 1 responses suggested that it is highly stereotypical of transgender women.

Finally, the trait “spiritual” was included in the counter-stereotypes that emerged in Study 2, indicating that participants believe transgender individuals are not spiritual people. The spirituality (or lack thereof) of transgender individuals did not emerge as a prevalent theme in the focus group discussions. The reasons that transgender individuals and spirituality are believed to be mutually exclusive remain unclear. However, one focus group participant did discuss her belief that identifying with a gender other than that which corresponds to the sex one was born with was a denial of God’s intentions (Kate, FG1). Accordingly, participants may believe that transgender individuals are acting against God or religious tenets and hence cannot be spiritual

people. This conclusion, however, is tenuous as little information is currently available on this topic.

These differential results may be explained by the methodological differences between Study 1 and 2. All Study 1 focus groups contained lively discussions, which may have been precipitated by the techniques used to engage participants and encourage critical thinking; namely, presenting transgender rights issues and images of transgender individuals. In contrast, Study 2 contained relatively few stimuli to cue in-depth interaction with the survey instrument. This contrast likely resulted in highly different emotional and cognitive states between Study 1 and Study 2 participants.

As elucidated in the present research, the stereotypes of transgender men and women appear to be somewhat neutral when measured at the cultural and personal levels. This finding is in direct contrast to relatively recent studies that have examined other social groups using similar methods. For example, Morrison et al. (2008) found *highly negative cultural* stereotypes of Aboriginal men and women (the superordinate category “Aboriginals” were stereotyped as dirty and poor; when examined separately, Aboriginal women were described as highly sexual and Aboriginal men as dangerous, aggressive, and alcoholic). This negatively valenced assessment did not emerge for transgender men and women in the present study (e.g., they were viewed as non-sexual and non-threatening). Relative to transgender individuals, the highly negatively valenced stereotypes of Aboriginal individuals may be related to a perception that they lack self-control. Joffe and Staerklé (2007) hypothesized that poor and highly sexualized people are believed to lack self-control, which is a strongly valued characteristic in Western cultures. This perception may, in turn, underlie the antipathy directed toward social groups such as Aboriginals, a social force that may not be directed toward transgender men and women to the same extent.



Furthermore, the negative cultural stereotypes of Aboriginal men and women that emerged were consistent with the high personal endorsement of these stereotypes. Suggesting that, not only were participants aware of pervasive negative beliefs about Aboriginal individuals but that they also subscribed to them. In contrast, the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women were more neutral and were not strongly personally endorsed by participants. Thus, the transgender stereotype does not appear to be as salient, or resonate as strongly, with the student sample in Study 2. Indeed, participants showed more negativity in the Study 1 focus groups, perhaps because they felt more free to think about stereotypes of transgender men and women when they were not restricted to brief trait descriptions, and/or because they monitored their responses less in the group discussions.

The Warmth-Competence Scale was included in Study 2 as an additional measure of stereotype content in order to situate transgender stereotypes in the Stereotype Content Model. The unreliable factor structure found for this scale, however, suggests that the Stereotype Content Model may not be optimal to explain the content of transgender stereotypes. It may be that “warmth” and “competence” are not the appropriate constructs to capture the content of transgender stereotypes and to describe the relationship between them and discrimination. Rather, a “social distancing” construct may be more appropriate to encompass the stereotypes applied to transgender men and women. This construct would be consistent with the traits directly related to social distance in these stereotypes (i.e., “outcast” in Study 2 and the rejected from society theme in Study 1) and those that implicitly relegate transgender men and women to outsider positions (i.e., “had sex reassignment surgery,” in Study 2 and the abnormal theme in Study 1). Thus, the concepts upon which the Stereotype Content Model is predicated may not apply well to stereotypes of transgender women and men.

Indeed, many of the traits included in transgender stereotypes (e.g., “had sex reassignment surgery,” “wears women’s clothes,” and “gay”) are not neatly encompassed by any of the three prominent theories of stereotype content (i.e., the Stereotype Content Model, Image Theory, and the Self-Control Model). This demonstrates that, while these theories provide useful explanations of the commonalities and differences between stereotypes, they do not always permit the prediction of the diverse traits included in a specific stereotype. A more in-depth approach, such as the focus groups and trait lists used in the present study, is required to discover these traits. Moreover, the transgender-specific stereotype content was somewhat related to transprejudice, suggesting that stereotype-specific content may be useful when constructing scales to measure prejudice. For example, several of the traits included in the stereotypes of transgender individuals also have been included in transprejudice scales (e.g., items relating to the spirituality of transgender individuals are included in several scales; Hill & Willoughby, 2005; King et al., 2009). The extant transprejudice scales, however, were not developed based on a systemic investigation of beliefs about transgender individuals and therefore may rely on generalities. Hence, the results of the present study may be useful in the development of transprejudice scales with more specifically transgender-related content. The present study demonstrates the value of conducting an in-depth exploration of a previously unmeasured stereotype to obtain the unique traits associated with the social group in question.

The present study took participants’ perceptions of cultural stereotypes of transgender individuals and their personal endorsement of these stereotypes into account. Differences were observed in the stereotypes that emerged from these measures, both in content (e.g., “butch” emerged as a frequently chosen trait on the Personal Endorsement of Stereotype Content scale, but was not included in the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women) and in the

relationships between stereotypes of transgender men and women (i.e., the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women diverged to a greater extent with respect to content and multiplicative index results than did the personal endorsements of these stereotypes). The results that emerged from these measures, however, both suggest two main findings about stereotypes of transgender individuals: They are believed to be members of the gender they were assigned to at birth; and they are pitied. Both of these findings are reflective of prejudice towards transgender individuals.

The trait “gay” was included in the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women and in participants’ personal endorsements of these stereotypes. Thus, this trait appears to be a central element of transgender stereotypes. Although “gay” has several definitions, Study 1 participants’ responses demonstrate that they used it as an umbrella term to refer to homosexual women and men (Avert, 2011). Furthermore, when transgender individuals were described as “gay” in Study 1, participants used the gender assigned to transgender individuals at birth as the referent for this label (i.e., transgender women were stereotyped as gay men; transgender men were stereotyped as lesbian women). Indeed, it was difficult for most Study 1 participants to contemplate the existence of transgender individuals who are attracted to members of the gender with which they identify (e.g., transgender women attracted to other women). As Study 1 and 2 participants were drawn from the same population, it is likely that they understood the term “gay” in the same way. Thus, the presence of this trait in the core stereotype of transgender men and women implies not only a presumption of sexuality but also reflects the sample’s bias toward birth sex as the legitimate indicator of one’s gender role. This is illuminating with respect to anti-transgender sentiment as it suggests that participants disregard transgender individuals’ autonomy and the legitimacy of their identities and experiences (by upholding birth sex as the

legitimate indicator of gender rather than the gender to which transgender individuals believe themselves to belong).

Second, several traits that were deemed highly characteristic of the cultural stereotypes of transgender men and women, and frequently identified as representative of these stereotypes on the Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotype scale (i.e., “confused,” “born in the wrong body,” “abnormal”) suggest that transgender individuals are regarded with pity. Study 1 participants also discussed feeling pity for transgender individuals. Despite the Stereotype Content Model’s apparent inapplicability insofar as framing the content of transgender stereotypes, it offers a model to describe the relationship between the stereotype, prejudiced affect, and discrimination. Specifically, the affect “pity” is associated with groups stereotyped as low in competence but high in warmth and has been linked to passive harm behaviours in the Stereotype Content Model (Cuddy et al., 2007). One core stereotype trait, “outcast,” suggests that transgender individuals are perceived as frequent victims of passive harm (which includes neglect and exclusion from society). Indeed, the passive harm committed against transgender individuals at the level of society is evident in the finding that transgender individuals are often victims of systemic discrimination through exclusion from suitable housing and employment (NCTE, 2011). Much as pity has been found to be associated with paternalistic sexism, which places women in a powerless position relative to men (Glick & Fiske, 2001), stereotypes of transgender women and men that are denotative of pity may reflect their powerless and neglected position in society. Together, the delegitimization of transgender identities and the piteous reaction towards transgender individuals evident in the core stereotype content suggests that transgender individuals and their identities are not taken seriously. They are believed to be

mistaken about themselves and they are pitied for this perceived confusion and the challenges it entails.

### *Limitations and Future Research*

The present research is the first to empirically examine stereotypes of transgender individuals. Though this research offers some insights into the stereotypes of transgender men and women, it is limited by several factors. These limitations, in many cases, offer potential directions for future research in this area.

First, the samples collected are not representative of the general population. The convenience samples were drawn from university students in a Western Canadian city, and Study 2 included a high proportion of women. Study 2 was primarily intended to test hypotheses, and for this purpose a representative sample is not critically necessary (Mook, 1983). However, the nonrepresentativeness of the samples is a limitation to the ability to generalize the stereotype content. Specifically, the overrepresentation of women in the Study 2 sample, and the reliance on university students for the Study 1 and 2 samples, may have led to the elucidation of more positive stereotypes, and less transprejudice, than would be expected from a general population sample. Women have consistently shown less prejudice than men towards several social groups, including gay and lesbian individuals (Herek, 2000) and, most relevantly, transgender individuals (e.g., Nagoshi et al., 2008; Tee & Hegarty, 2006; Winter et al., 2008). Similarly, post-secondary education has been shown to reduce prejudice levels among students (Wagner & Zick, 1995). Moreover, middle- and upper-class young adults (which describes the majority of undergraduates) generally show less prejudice than do working class young adults (Pedersen, 1996). Thus, the composition of the present sample may have biased the stereotype content and prejudice results.

As stereotypes are constructed from information transmitted to people through social institutions (e.g., media; Fiske et al., 2002; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007; Madureira, 2007; Tajfel, 1981), stereotype content may vary between groups that are exposed to different messages; thus, it is rarely possible to discover generalizable stereotype content in a single study. Due to issues of practicality, stereotype content research is not frequently conducted with representative samples. Rather, it is recommended that future research on the content of transgender stereotypes be conducted with samples of individuals who may have proportionally greater capacity to affect lives of transgender people (e.g., teachers, employers, and physical and mental health care professionals; see NCTE, 2011 for further information on institutions in which transgender individuals frequently experience discrimination).

Second, on analyzing the Personal Endorsement of Cultural Stereotype scale results, it appears that some participants may be engaging in impression management. This may have resulted in the rejection of Hypothesis 2, which was developed to test whether personal stereotypes of transgender women were more negative than those of transgender men. In the future, further efforts should be made to decrease any social desirability pressures on participants. For example, the confidentiality of participants' responses could be emphasized directly before they complete a measure of personal stereotypes. Moreover, a measure of participants' motivation to manage their impressions could be included in future studies to determine whether this bias is frequently present when measuring stereotype content. Furthermore, future studies may employ stereotype measures that are less prone to bias due to impression management. These measures may include, for example, implicit priming and physiological measures.

Third, the Warmth-Competence Scale was found to possess questionable psychometric properties (e.g., the factor structure could not be replicated and subsequent alpha coefficients for these factors were suboptimal), despite its frequent use in studies that test the tenets of the Stereotype Content Model (e.g., Claussel & Fiske, 2005; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, the Warmth-Competence Scale was deemed unsuitable to measure the content of transgender stereotypes. This limited the capacity of the present study to provide evidence for the position of transgender stereotypes within the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002). Future studies should test the applicability of other stereotype content models (e.g., Image Theory and the Self-Control Model; Alexander et al., 1999, Joffe & Staerklé, 2007) or other theories to stereotypes of transgender men and women. This limitation attests to the importance of testing scales' factor structures, particularly when applying them to a new topic or study population. Though the original analysis of the Warmth-Competence Scale's validity found it to have a reliable factor structure, with high alpha coefficients and a strong two-factor solution (Fiske et al., 2002), few subsequent analyses of its factor validity have been published. Thus, future studies should consider testing the factor validity of the Warmth-Competence Scale before drawing conclusions from the data it yields.

Several additional avenues for further investigations are suggested by the present studies. First, only a minority of participants in both studies reported personally knowing a transgender person. It is likely that stereotypes of transgender men and women are thus derived from portrayals of transgender individuals in the media. At present, there is little empirical information available about how transgender individuals are represented in television, film, Internet, and print media (see Cahill, 1998; Schilt & Westbrook, 2009 for reviews of print media reports on crimes involving transgender individuals). A thorough review of these representations

would provide information on the kinds of messages people are receiving about transgender individuals and, perhaps, how these messages contribute to stereotypes of transgender individuals.

Second, the stereotype of transgender men appeared to be more ambiguous and less strong than that of transgender women. This may indicate that participants are less familiar with transgender men and have a less defined stereotype of them. However, some focus group participants discussed recent media representations of transgender men (e.g., an adolescent character on the television show *Degrassi: The Next Generation*). The portrayal of transgender men in a popular television series suggests that public awareness of this identity is growing. Indeed, the lack of clarity in the stereotype of transgender men may be an illuminating result unto itself as it highlights the relative invisibility of transgender men in the media and lack of wide-spread knowledge about them. Future research should examine how the stereotype of transgender men emerges and how their current invisibility impacts the development of transgender men's identity, if at all.

Third, the relationship between stereotype content, discriminatory behaviours, and affective prejudice ought to be investigated with respect to transgender individuals. The present study provides evidence that stereotype content and transprejudice are, to some degree, associated; however, the direction of the association and its connection with discrimination should be addressed. Several studies have examined how these factors affect relations with other social groups, with the resultant conclusion that stereotype content informs prejudiced affect which leads to discriminatory behaviours (Cuddy et al., 2007). Much of this research is based on the Stereotype Content Model and employed the Warmth-Competence Scale as the measure of stereotype content. As this scale was found to be problematic when applied to stereotypes of



transgender individuals, this pattern may not extend to prejudice and discrimination toward transgender individuals. Research on the associations between stereotype content, transprejudice, and discrimination may provide valuable insights into how interventions can be designed to combat transprejudice and discrimination against transgender individuals. For example, future interventions may attempt to confront and disprove the stereotype that being transgender is a choice, a stereotype similar to that which has been associated with discrimination towards gay men and lesbian women (e.g., Lewis, 2009).

Finally, although the present research examined the stereotypes of transgender individuals held by non-transgender individuals, it did not examine how these stereotypes are perceived by transgender individuals themselves (i.e., their metastereotypes; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). Future research should assess the content of transgender individuals' metastereotypes, as they may play a significant role in stereotype threat (i.e., decreases in performance due to the belief that one's ingroup is subject to negative stereotypes; Wout, Shih, Jackson, & Sellers, 2009) and development of a minority identity (May & Stone, 2010).

In sum, directions for future research include extensions of the present study to other research populations (e.g., teachers and health care professionals), an examination of the apparent invisibility of transgender men, an analysis of media representations of transgender individuals, investigations into the associations between stereotype content, transprejudice, and discrimination, and studies of the content and effects of transgender metastereotypes.

### Conclusion

The SCM, Image Theory, and Self-Control Model propose that stereotype content is closely related to structural inequalities between groups and discrimination (Cuddy et al., 2007; Herrmann & Fischerkeller, 1995; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Despite evidence that they are subject

to extreme discrimination and structural inequality (Kenagy, 2005; Lombardi, 2009), the stereotypes applied to transgender individuals had not yet been investigated. The present research elucidated the stereotypes held about transgender individuals from quantitative and qualitative perspectives. It is hoped that the findings presented herein will aid theoretical and empirical efforts to uncover the nature and causes of discrimination against transgender individuals.

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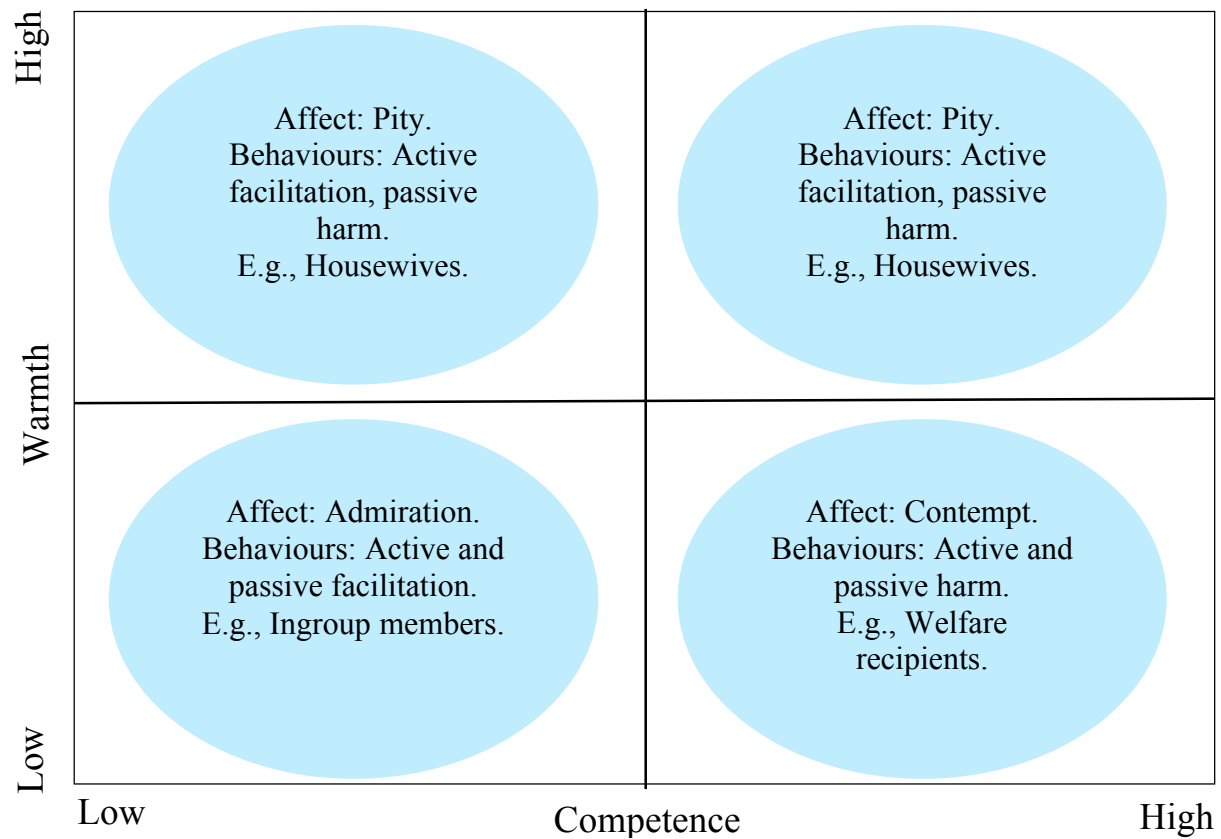
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*Figure 1.* The structure of the stereotype content model; social structural variables and their correspondent affective prejudices and behavioural inclinations. Adapted from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) and Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick (2007).

Table 1

*Themes and traits extracted from focus group discussions*

Theme	Associated Traits
Gendered Personality/Behaviours	Wears women's clothes Wears a wig Wears make-up Has feminine personality Has masculine personality Emotional Nurturing Gentle Athletic Tough Shy Soft-spoken Loud
Sexed Body Shape	Feminine body shape (e.g., breasts, petite) Masculine body shape (e.g., broad shoulders, big hands, muscular)
Abnormal	Abnormal Noticeable Confident
Rejected by Society	Outcast A joke
Gay/Lesbian	Gay Lesbian Flamboyant
Mentally Ill	Mentally ill Confused
Sex Reassignment Surgery	Has had sex reassignment surgery (genital surgery)

*Table 1 (Continued).*

Theme	Associated Traits
Primacy of Gender Identity versus Birth Sex	Really a man Really a woman Born in the wrong body Feels like a woman Feels like a man

Table 2

*Demographic Information for Participants Who Completed the Stereotype Surveys (N = 257)*

Category	Transgender Women Survey (n; %)	Transgender Men Survey (n; %)
Gender		
Woman	98 (76.6)	100 (76.9)
Man	26 (20.3)	24 (18.5)
Other	0 (0)	2 (1.5)
Age (years)		
Mean	21.16	21.49
SD	3.86	4.65
Range	18-46	18-51
Sexual Orientation		
Straight	120 (93.8)	117 (90)
Pansexual	2 (1.6)	0 (0)
Bisexual	0 (0)	8 (6.2)
Queer	2 (1.6)	2 (1.5)
Other	1 (.8)	0 (0)
Ethnicity		
Caucasian	107 (83.6)	111 (85.4)
Aboriginal	6 (4.7)	2 (1.5)
African American	0 (0)	1 (.8)
Asian/Pacific Islander	3 (2.3)	4 (3.1)
Latino/a	1 (.8)	1 (.8)
Middle Eastern	1 (.8)	1 (.8)
East Indian	3 (2.3)	4 (3.1)
Other	6 (4.7)	2 (1.5)

*Table 2 (Continued).*

Category	Transgender Women Survey (n; %)	Transgender Men Survey (n; %)
Religious Affiliation		
Christianity	61 (47.7)	74 (56.9)
Islam	2 (1.6)	5 (3.8)
Buddhism	1 (.8)	0 (0)
Hinduism	0 (0)	1 (.8)
None	50 (39.1)	37 (28.5)
Other	13 (10.2)	10 (7.7)
Religious Importance		
1. Very unimportant	20 (15.6)	13 (10.0)
2	7 (5.5)	8 (6.2)
3	9 (7.0)	5 (3.8)
4. Neither important nor unimportant	45 (35.2)	44 (33.8)
5	24 (18.8)	23 (17.7)
6	8 (6.3)	22 (16.9)
7. Very important	13 (10.2)	10 (7.7)
Religious Service Attendance		
Never	42 (32.8)	33 (25.4)
On Special Occasions	41 (32.0)	42 (32.3)
Now and Then	29 (22.7)	34 (26.2)
Usually	16 (12.5)	18 (13.8)
Contact with Transgender Individuals		
Family Members	1 (0.8)	2 (1.5)
Number Transgender Family Members <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	2 (N/A)	0 (0)
Time spent with Transgender Family Members in hours/week <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	0 (N/A)	0 (0)

*Table 2 (Continued).*

Category	Transgender Women Survey (n; %)	Transgender Men Survey (n; %)
Friends	10 (7.8)	13 (10.0)
Number Transgender Friends <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	2.5 (4.23)	2.6 (1.8)
Time spent with Transgender Friends in hours/week <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	0.7 (0.8)	2.9 (2.1)
Acquaintances	23 (18.0)	18 (13.8)
Number Transgender Acquaintances <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	1.3 (0.7)	2.3 (1.8)
Time spent with Transgender Acquaintances in hours/week <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	0.6 (0.8)	2.3 (6.6)

*Note.* Percentages that do not total 100% are due to missing values. Anchor labels provided for the Religious Importance scale were: 1 = Very Unimportant, 4 = Neither Important nor Unimportant, and 7 = Very Important. The labels for the Religious Frequency scale were: 1 = Never, 2 = On Special Occasions, 3 = Now and Then, 4 = Usually.



Table 3

*Transgender Men Stereotype and Counter-Stereotype Trait Valence (n = 7)*

Trait	<i>t</i> value	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Stereotype				
Outcast	1.11	0.86 (2.04)	0.77	0.31
Sex Reassignment Surgery	0.59	0.50 (2.07)	0.85	0.58
Gay	0.17	0.14 (2.19)	0.83	0.87
Confused	-0.13	-0.14 (2.85)	1.08	0.90
Abnormal	-2.19	-1.57 (1.90)	0.72	0.07
Counter-Stereotype				
Spiritual	1.55	0.29 (.49)	0.18	0.17
Attractive	0.80	0.57 (1.90)	0.72	0.46
Criminal	-2.79	-2.14 (2.03)	0.77	0.03
Smelly	-2.93	-1.86 (1.68)	0.63	0.03
Abusive	-3.04	-2.14 (1.86)	0.71	0.02

Table 4

*Transgender Women Stereotype and Counter-Stereotype Trait Valence (n = 7)*

Trait	<i>t</i> value	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Stereotype				
Wears Make-up	3.24	1.00 (.82)	0.31	0.02
Wears Women's Clothes	1.19	1.29 (2.87)	1.09	0.28
Born in Wrong Body	0.85	1.00 (3.11)	1.18	0.43
Abnormal	-0.14	-0.14 (2.79)	1.06	0.90
Gay	-0.66	-0.57 (2.30)	0.87	0.54
Confused	-0.96	-0.71 (1.98)	0.75	0.38
Counter-Stereotype				
Spiritual	0.42	0.14 (.90)	0.34	0.69
Sexy	-0.44	-0.43 (2.57)	0.97	0.68
Attractive	-0.80	-0.57 (1.90)	0.75	0.46
Violent	-2.22	-2.00 (2.38)	0.90	0.07
Poor	-2.27	-1.29 (1.50)	0.57	0.06
Abusive	-4.04	-2.29 (1.50)	0.57	0.01*
Smelly	-4.25	-2.43 (1.51)	0.57	0.01*
Lazy	-4.60	-2.43 (1.40)	0.53	< 0.01*
Criminal	-4.60	-2.43 (1.40)	0.53	< 0.01*

\* indicates significance at  $p \leq 0.01$

Table 5

*Warmth-Competence Scale Pattern Matrix for Transgender Men (n = 124)*

Item (Scale)	Factor Loadings	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
As viewed by society, how warm are transgender men? (Warmth)	<b>0.879</b>	-0.310
As viewed by society, how sincere are transgender men? (Warmth)	<b>0.738</b>	0.116
As viewed by society, how good natured are transgender men? (Warmth)	<b>0.693</b>	0.158
As viewed by society, how tolerant are transgender men? (Warmth)	<b>0.481</b>	-0.064
As viewed by society, how confident are transgender men? (Competence)	<b>0.403</b>	0.012
As viewed by society, how competent are transgender men? (Competence)	<b>0.400</b>	0.308
As viewed by society, how independent are transgender men? (Competence)	0.350	0.182
As viewed by society, how intelligent are transgender men? (Competence)	0.271	<b>0.731</b>
As viewed by society, how competitive are transgender men? (Competence)	-0.051	0.370

Table 6

*Warmth-Competence Scale Pattern Matrix for Transgender Women (n = 121)*

Item (Scale)	Factor Loadings	
	Factor 1	Factor 2
As viewed by society, how good natured are transgender women? (Warmth)	<b>0.818</b>	-0.018
As viewed by society, how tolerant are transgender women? (Warmth)	<b>0.620</b>	-0.135
As viewed by society, how warm are transgender women? (Warmth)	<b>0.584</b>	-0.005
As viewed by society, how intelligent are transgender women? (Competence)	<b>0.491</b>	0.129
As viewed by society, how sincere are transgender women? (Warmth)	<b>0.486</b>	0.307
As viewed by society, how independent are transgender women? (Competence)	0.068	<b>0.694</b>
As viewed by society, how confident are transgender women? (Competence)	-0.035	<b>0.546</b>
As viewed by society, how competent are transgender women? (Competence)	0.105	<b>0.494</b>
As viewed by society, how competitive are transgender women? (Competence)	-0.065	<b>0.461</b>

Table 7

*Transphobia Scale Factor Matrix (n = 237)*

Item	Factor Loadings
I think there is something wrong with a woman who wants to live as a man.	<b>0.868</b>
I think there is something wrong with a man who wants to live as a woman.	<b>0.857</b>
I would feel upset if a woman I had known for a long time revealed to me that she used to be a man.	<b>0.777</b>
I would feel upset if a man I had known for a long time revealed to me that he used to be a woman.	<b>0.733</b>
I believe that a person can never change their gender (i.e., a woman can never really become a man and a man can never really become a woman).	<b>0.727</b>
A person's genitalia define what gender they are (i.e., a penis defines a person as being a man, a vagina defines a person as being a woman).	<b>0.708</b>
When I meet someone, it is important for me to be able to identify them as a man or a woman.	<b>0.666</b>
I avoid people on the street whose gender is unclear to me.	<b>0.640</b>
I am uncomfortable around women who don't conform to their traditional gender roles (e.g., aggressive women).	<b>0.592</b>
I don't like it when someone is flirting with me and I can't tell if they are a man or a woman.	<b>0.575</b>
I am uncomfortable around men who don't conform to their traditional gender roles (e.g., emotional men).	<b>0.510</b>
I believe that the male/female dichotomy is natural.	<b>0.406</b>

Table 8

*Cultural Stereotype (n = 124) and Counter-Stereotype (n = 119) of Transgender Men*

Trait	CSS	Valence	MI
Stereotype			
Gay	60 %	0.14	1.20
Confused	58 %	-0.14	-1.17
Abnormal	57 %	-1.57	-13.27
Outcast	53 %	0.86	7.00
Sex Reassignment Surgery	52 %	0.50	4.13
Counter-Stereotype			
Abusive	57 %	-2.14	-7.13
Attractive	54 %	0.57	2.00
Smelly	53 %	-1.86	-7.17
Criminal	53 %	-2.14	-8.18
Spiritual	52 %	0.29	1.09

*Note.* The stereotype percentages indicate the proportion of participants who rated that trait at a 9, 10, or 11 on the CSS response scale. The counter-stereotype percentages indicate the proportion of participants who rated that trait at a 1, 2, or 3 on the CSS response scale. The multiplicative index (MI) for each descriptor was computed by multiplying the mean valence assigned by the participants who completed the VST (range -4 to +4) by each participant's CSS (range: 1 to 11) independently. Each score could be between -44 (maximally associated/endorsed, negatively valenced trait) and +44 (maximally associated/endorsed, positively valenced trait). For the CSS stereotype MI  $M = -0.42$ ,  $SD = 0.69$ , for the CSS counter-stereotype MI  $M = -3.88$ ,  $SD = 2.09$ .

Table 9

*Cultural Stereotype (n = 119) and Counter-Stereotype (n = 120) of Transgender Women*

Trait	CSS	Valence	MI
Stereotype			
Wears Women's Clothes	72 %	1.29	11.57
Wears Make-up	64 %	1.00	8.88
Gay	61 %	-0.57	-4.88
Abnormal	56 %	-0.14	-1.16
Born in Wrong Body	52 %	1.00	8.03
Confused	51 %	-0.71	-5.75
Counter-Stereotype			
Sexy	74 %	-0.43	-1.23
Attractive	63 %	-0.57	-1.91
Smelly	61 %	-2.43	-8.25
Abusive	58 %	-2.29	-7.66
Violent	58 %	-2.00	-6.84
Criminal	54 %	-2.43	-9.09
Poor	51 %	-1.29	-4.99
Lazy	51 %	-2.43	-8.71
Spiritual	50 %	0.14	0.57

*Note.* The stereotype percentages indicate the proportion of participants who rated that trait at a 9, 10, or 11 on the CSS response scale. The counter-stereotype percentages indicate the proportion of participants who rated that trait at a 1, 2, or 3 on the CSS response scale. The multiplicative index (MI) for each descriptor was computed by multiplying the mean valence assigned by the participants who completed the VST (range -4 to +4) by each participant's CSS (range: 1 to 11) independently. Each score could be between -44 (maximally associated/endorsed, negatively valenced trait) and +44 (maximally associated/endorsed, positively valenced trait). For the CSS stereotype MI  $M = 2.79$ ,  $SD = 0.96$ , for the CSS counter-

stereotype MI  $M = -5.36$ ,  $SD = 2.32$ .



Table 10

*Five Most Frequently Chosen Traits on the Personal Endorsement of the Cultural Stereotype scale for Transgender Women (n = 92) and Transgender men (n = 96)*

Trait	Transgender Women		Transgender Men	
	Frequency (n;%)	Valence	Frequency (n;%)	Valence
Confused	36 (39.1)	-0.96	30 (31.3)	-0.13
Born in the Wrong Body	28 (30.4)	0.85	25 (26.0)	1.43
Gay	26 (28.3)	-0.66	18 (18.8)	0.17
Butch	25 (27.2)	-1.29	20 (20.8)	0.14
Outcast	23 (25.0)	0.29	27 (28.1)	1.11

*Note.* The multiplicative index (MI) for each descriptor was computed by multiplying the mean valence assigned by the participants who completed the VST (range -4 to +4) by each participant's PECS (range: 1 to 11) independently. Each score could be between -44 (maximally associated/endorsed, negatively valenced trait) and +44 (maximally associated/endorsed, positively valenced trait). For the transgender women PECS MI  $M = 1.31$ ,  $SD = 4.89$ , for the transgender men PECS MI  $M = 1.10$ ,  $SD = 4.62$ .

## Appendix A

## Focus Group Schedule

Welcome to the focus group and thank you for volunteering to help our research. [*Lead and assistant moderators introduce themselves and their roles in the focus group.*] Before we begin, I would like to remind everyone that what is said here should not leave this room. Also, everyone's opinion is valid here and no one will be judged for sharing their point of view. While differing points of view are encouraged, please do not put down anyone else or any opinions which differ from yours.

1. Let's start by going around the table so that everyone can say their first name and academic major. *Allow all group members to respond*
2. In the social sciences we often talk about gender roles, or the messages men and women are given by society about how they are supposed to act.
  - a) How are men supposed to act in Canadian society?
  - b) How are men supposed to act in Canadian society?

Today our discussion will focus on transgender people. Usually, we describe transgender people as those who were born male but live, or want to live, their lives as women; or people who born female but live, or want to live, their lives as men. Does anyone have any questions about this definition?

3. Let's talk about transgender people in general, what are the first things that come to mind when I mention a transgender person?
4. Can you describe any depictions of transgender people you have seen on TV or movies, or read about in books, magazines, newspapers, or on-line?
  - a) *Probe:* Overall, would you say that the depictions you have seen are mostly negative, mostly positive, or an equal mix of positive and negative?

I have here a few pictures of transgender people. For each one, let's discuss how society might describe the person in the picture and the assumptions people might make about them. *Display each picture in turn with a PowerPoint projection.*

5. Photo 1: *Adult transgender man A*
  - a) What are your impressions about this person?
  - b) How might the average person in Canada describe this person?
6. Photo 2: *Adult transgender woman A*
  - a) What are your impressions about this person?
  - b) How might the average person in Canada describe this person?
7. Photo 3: *Adult transgender man B*
  - c) What are your impressions about this person?

d) How might the average person in Canada describe this person?

8. Photo 4: *Adult transgender woman B*

a) What are your impressions about this person?

b) How might the average person in Canada describe this person?

9. Photo 5: *Young transgender person*

a) What are your impressions about this person?

b) How might the average person in Canada describe this person?

c) What do you think the person in this photo will be like as an adult?

In the media recently there have been some controversies over transgender people. Let's discuss some of these as a group.

10. Which public bathrooms should transgender people use?

a) *Probe:* Could you describe your reasoning behind your answer?

b) Does it matter whether the transgender person has received genital surgery to match the gender they identify with?

*If participants are generally in favour of transgender people using bathroom of gender they identify with:*

c) *Probe:* Many people are not in favour of transgender people using the bathroom they identify with, what might be some reasons for their position?

11. Some Canadian provinces' health care plans cover the costs of sex re-assignment surgery and/or hormone therapy for transgender people. What are your thoughts on this?

a) *Probe:* Could you describe your reasoning behind your answer?

*If participants are generally in favour of surgery and hormones being covered by government health care:*

b) *Probe:* Many people are not in favour of provinces' health care plans covering these procedures, what might be some reasons for their position?

12. Should transgender people change their passports to reflect the gender they identify with?

a) *Probe:* Could you describe your reasoning behind your answer?

b) *Probe:* How should a transgender person's passport picture look?

*If participants are generally in favour of transgender people being able to change passport to reflect gender identity:*

c) *Probe:* Many people are not in favour of transgender people being able to change their passports to reflect their gender identity, what might some reasons be for their position?

13. We have had a lot of descriptions of transgender people today. Let's take a minute to put them together into an overall description of an average transgender man (born female, lives as a man) and transgender woman (born male, lives as woman) based on society's perception of them. We'll go around the table so that everyone can give their opinion.

a) Starting with perceptions of transgender men. *Allow all group members to respond*

b) And now transgender women. *Allow all group members to respond*

*If participants use quantifier words such as "more", "less", "greater than":*

c) *Probe*: Who are you comparing transgender people to? (i.e., non-transgender women or men?)

Now I will summarize the main points as I see them from our discussion today. *Summarize*

14. In your opinion, is this an adequate summary of what we discussed?

## Appendix B

## Study 1 Demographic Questionnaire

Thank you for completing the focus group! Before you go, we would like some background information about you. This information will not be connected to what you said during the focus group and it will be kept completely confidential.

**1. What is your gender? (Check all that apply)**

- Man
- Woman
- Two-spirit
- Transgender
- Transexual
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**2. In what year were you born? (e.g., 1987) \_\_\_\_\_****3. What race or ethnicity do you identify as?**

- Caucasian
- African American
- Aboriginal
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Latino/a
- Middle Eastern
- East Indian
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**4. Which religion do you personally practice?**

- Christianity
- Islam
- Buddhism
- Hinduism
- Judaism
- None
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**5. On the scale below, please circle the number which indicates how important religion is in your every day life:**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unimportant			Neither Important nor Unimportant			Very Important

**6. Approximately how many transgender people have you met?**

- Unsure if have met any transgender people
- 0 definitely
- 1-2 definitely
- 3-4 definitely
- 5-6 definitely
- 7-8 definitely
- 9-10 definitely
- More than 10 definitely

## Appendix C

## Certificate of Ethics Approval


**UNIVERSITY OF  
SASKATCHEWAN**

Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB)

***Certificate of Approval***
**PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR**  
 Melanie Morrison

**DEPARTMENT**  
 Psychology

**BEH#**  
 10-351

**INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CONDUCTED**  
 University of Saskatchewan

**STUDENT RESEARCHERS**  
 Stephanie Gazzola

**SPONSOR**  
 UNFUNDED

**TITLE**  
 Stereotypes of Transgender Women and Men: Content, Strength, Valence

**ORIGINAL REVIEW DATE**  
 03-Jan-2011

**APPROVAL ON**  
 04-Feb-2011

**APPROVAL OF**  
 Ethics Application  
 Consent Protocol

**EXPIRY DATE**  
 04-Feb-2012

 Full Board Meeting ☐

Date of Full Board Meeting:

 Delegated Review ☒

 Expedited Review: ☐
**CERTIFICATION**

The University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board has reviewed the above-named research project. The proposal was found to be acceptable on ethical grounds. The principal investigator has the responsibility for any other administrative or regulatory approvals that may pertain to this research project, and for ensuring that the authorized research is carried out according to the conditions outlined in the original protocol submitted for ethics review. This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above time period provided there is no change in experimental protocol or consent process or documents.

Any significant changes to your proposed method, or your consent and recruitment procedures should be reported to the Chair for Research Ethics Board consideration in advance of its implementation.

**ONGOING REVIEW REQUIREMENTS**

In order to receive annual renewal, a status report must be submitted to the REB Chair for Board consideration within one month of the current expiry date each year the study remains open, and upon study completion. Please refer to the following website for further instructions: [http://www.usask.ca/research/ethics\\_review/](http://www.usask.ca/research/ethics_review/)

 John Rigby, Chair  
 University of Saskatchewan  
 Behavioural Research Ethics Board

Please send all correspondence to:

 Research Ethics Office  
 University of Saskatchewan  
 Box 5000 RPO University, 1602-110 Gymnasium Place  
 Saskatoon SK S7N 4J8

## Appendix D

## Cultural Stereotype Scale

Carefully read the following list of adjectives and rate the extent to which each of them characterizes **society's beliefs** about **transgender men [women]** by circling a number between 1 (Not at all Characteristic) and 11 (Extremely Characteristic). We are not interested in your personal beliefs, but in how you think **transgender men [women] are viewed by others**. Make sure that you read each item carefully because the rating scale will change for some adjectives!

**Happy**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Criminal**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Indecisive**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Confused**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Dangerous**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	Not at all Characteristic
	1										

**Compassionate**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Angry**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Had Sex Reassignment Surgery (Genital Surgery)**



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

## Extremely Characteristic

**Sensitive**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

## Extremely Characteristic

## Really a Man

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

Extremely  
Characteristic

## Attractive

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

Extremely  
Characteristic

## Bad Parent

11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2  
1

Not at all Characteristic

## Clean

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

Extremely  
Characteristic

## Scary

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

Extremely  
Characteristic

## Effeminate

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

## Extremely Characteristic

## Dainty

11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2  
1

Not at all Characteristic

## Wears Make-up

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

## Extremely Characteristic

## Easy Going

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
11

## Extremely Characteristic

**Emotional**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Masculine Body Shape (e.g., broad shoulders, big hands, muscular)**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	Not at all Characteristic
	1										

**Feminist**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	Not at all Characteristic
	1										

**Friendly**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Gentle**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Unpopular**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Good Dressers**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Extremely Characteristic
	11										

**Abnormal**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	Not at all Characteristic
	1										

**Masculine Personality**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
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**Welfare Dependent**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
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**Mean**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
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**Spunky**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
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**Feels like a Man**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Melodramatic**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Uneducated**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Individualistic**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Really a Woman**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Neat**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Open Minded**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Feminine Body Shape (e.g., breasts, petite)**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Extroverted**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Slimy**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Flirtatious**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Optimistic**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Nurturing**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Unreliable**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Intelligent**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Outspoken**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Abusive**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Touchy**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Powerful**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Undisciplined**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Poor**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Gay**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Attention Seeking**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Promiscuous**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Quarrelsome**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Weak**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Humorous**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**A Joke**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Short Hair**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Ignorant**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Active**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Confident**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Independent**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Butch**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Intimidating**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Agreeable**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Introverted**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Kind**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Lazy**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Feminine Personality**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Liberal**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Violent**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Tattletales**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Born in the Wrong Body**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Ashamed**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Limp Wristed**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Sloppy**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Lips**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Lonely**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Man Hating**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Physically Dirty**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Quiet**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Wears Women's Clothes**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Sad**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Affectionate**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Selfish**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Flamboyant**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Sentimental**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Wears Wig**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Sexually Easy**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Aggressive**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Smelly**



Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Mentally Ill**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Soft Voice**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Fashionable**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Sociable**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Athletic**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Spiritual**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Noticeable**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Have AIDS**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Stupid**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Loud**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Alcoholic**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Strong**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Lesbian**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Talented**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Proud**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Talkative**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Feels like a Woman**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Addict**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Artistic**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Deviant**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Outcast**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Tense**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Tough**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Understanding**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Sexy**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Greedy**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Physically Unhealthy**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

**Warm Hearted**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Insecure**

Not at all Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Extremely Characteristic
------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	-----------------------------

**Whiny**

Extremely Characteristic	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Not at all Characteristic
-----------------------------	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------------

Now please choose five adjectives from the above list that **BEST** characterize **society's beliefs** about transgender men [women] and list them on the next page.

## Appendix E

## Personal Endorsement of the Cultural Stereotype Scale

In the space provided, please write down the adjectives you chose from the previous list (one adjective per space). Below each adjective please indicate how much **you personally** believe that adjective to be characteristic of transgender men [women].

Adjective 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Not at all													Extremely
Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Characteristic	

Adjective 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Not at all													Extremely
Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Characteristic	

Adjective 3: \_\_\_\_\_

Not at all													Extremely
Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Characteristic	

Adjective 4: \_\_\_\_\_

Not at all													Extremely
Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Characteristic	

Adjective 5: \_\_\_\_\_

Not at all													Extremely
Characteristic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Characteristic	

## Appendix F

## Valence of Stereotype Traits

Please rate the following adjectives on how positive or negative they are when they are used to describe **transgender men [women]** by circling a number between -4 (Very Negative) and +4 (Very Positive). Make sure that you read carefully because the rating scale will change for some adjectives!

**Happy**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Criminal**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Indecisive**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Confused**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Dangerous**

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative

**Compassionate**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Angry</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Sensitive</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Wears Make-up</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Attractive</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Bad Parent</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Clean</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative					Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
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**Had Sex Reassignment Surgery (Genital Surgery)**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Scary**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Effeminate**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Dainty**

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative

**Easy Going**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

**Feminine Body Shape (e.g., breasts, petite)**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----



Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Emotional</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Feminist</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Friendly</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Gentle</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Unpopular</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Good Dressers</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4

Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Abnormal</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Welfare Dependent</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Mean</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>A Joke</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Spunky</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Melodramatic</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative					Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
------------------	--	--	--	--	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	------------------

**Uneducated**

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----

Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
------------------	--	--	--	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	------------------

**Individualistic**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
------------------	--	--	--	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	------------------

**Feminine Personality**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
------------------	--	--	--	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	------------------

**Neat**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
------------------	--	--	--	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	------------------

**Open Minded**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
------------------	--	--	--	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	------------------

**Extroverted**

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Slimy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Really a Woman</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Flirtatious</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Optimistic</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Unreliable</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Intelligent</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Outspoken</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Abusive</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Noticeable</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Touchy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Powerful</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Undisciplined</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Poor</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Attention Seeking</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Promiscuous</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Masculine Body Shape (e.g., broad shoulders, big hands, muscular)</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Quarrelsome</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Weak</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Humorous</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Feels like a Woman</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Short Hair</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Ignorant</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Active</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Independent</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Butch</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Intimidating</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Feels like a Man</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Agreeable</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Introverted</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Kind</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4



Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Lazy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Liberal</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Violent</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Nurturing</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Tattletales</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Ashamed</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Really a Man</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Limp Wristed</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Sloppy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Lisps</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Lonely</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Physically Unhealthy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Man Hating</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Physically Dirty</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Quiet</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Gay</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Sad</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Affectionate</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Selfish</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Flamboyant</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Sentimental</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Sexually Easy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Confident</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Aggressive</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Smelly</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Masculine Personality</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Soft Voice</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Fashionable</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Sociable</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Addict</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Spiritual</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Born in the Wrong Body</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Have AIDS</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Stupid</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Loud</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Alcoholic</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Strong</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Talented</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Proud</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Talkative</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Wears Wig</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Athletic</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Artistic</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Deviant</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Wears Women's Clothes</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Tense</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Tough</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Understanding</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4



Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Mentally Ill</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Sexy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Confident</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Warm Hearted</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Insecure</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Whiny</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Greedy</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Competent</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Lesbian</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Competitive</b>								
+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
Very Positive				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Negative
<b>Intelligent</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
<b>Tolerant</b>								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4

Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
Outcast								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
Good Natured								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive
Sincere								
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Very Negative				Neither Negative nor Positive				Very Positive

## Appendix G

## Warmth-Competence Scale

Please read the following statements carefully and indicate how **transgender men [women]** are viewed **by society**. We are not interested in your personal beliefs, but in how you think **transgender men [women]** are viewed by others.

1. As viewed by society, how competent are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

2. As viewed by society, how confident are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

3. As viewed by society, how independent are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

4. As viewed by society, how competitive are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

5. As viewed by society, how intelligent are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

6. As viewed by society, how tolerant are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

7. As viewed by society, how warm are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

8. As viewed by society, how good natured are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

9. As viewed by society, how sincere are transgender men [women]?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Extremely

[Items 1 through 5 measure competence stereotypes, items 6 through 9 measure warmth stereotypes (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).]

## Appendix H

## Transphobia Scale

Please tell us how much you agree with the following statements by circling a number on the scale between 1 (Completely Disagree) and 7 (Completely Agree).

1. I don't like it when someone is flirting with me and I can't tell if they are a man or a woman.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

2. I think there is something wrong with a woman who wants to live as a man.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

3. I think there is something wrong with a man who wants to live as a woman.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

4. I would feel upset if a man I had known for a long time revealed to me that he used to be a woman.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

5. I would feel upset if a woman I had known for a long time revealed to me that she used to be a man.

1                      2                      3                      4                      5                      6                      7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

6. I avoid people on the street whose gender is unclear to me.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

7. When I meet someone, it is important for me to be able to identify them as a man or a woman.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

8. I believe that the male/female dichotomy is natural.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

9. I am uncomfortable around women who don't conform to their traditional gender roles (e.g., aggressive women).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

10. I am uncomfortable around men who don't conform to their traditional gender roles (e.g., emotional men).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Completely  
Disagree

Neither Agree  
nor Disagree

Completely  
Agree

11. I believe that a person can never change their gender (i.e., a woman can never really become a man and a man can never really become a woman).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely Disagree			Neither Agree nor Disagree			Completely Agree

12. A person’s genitalia define what gender they are (i.e., a penis defines a person as being a man, a vagina defines a person as being a woman).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely Disagree			Neither Agree nor Disagree			Completely Agree



## Appendix I

## Study 2 Demographic Questionnaire

We would like some background information about you. Remember that your responses to this survey will be kept completely confidential.

**1. What is your gender? (Check all that apply)**

- Man
- Woman
- Two-spirit
- Transgender
- Transexual
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**2. What is your sexual orientation?**

- Lesbian
- Gay
- Straight
- Bisexual
- Asexual
- Pansexual
- Queer
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**3. In what year were you born? (e.g., 1987) \_\_\_\_\_****4. What race or ethnicity do you identify as?**

- Caucasian
- African American
- Aboriginal
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Latino/a
- Middle Eastern
- East Indian
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**5. Which religion do you personally practice?**

- Christianity
- Islam
- Buddhism
- Hinduism

- Judaism
- None
- Other: Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

**6. How often do you attend religious services?**

1	2	3	4
Never	On Special Occasions	Now and Then	Usually

**7. On the scale below, please circle the number which indicates how important religion is in your every day life:**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Unimportant			Neither Important nor Unimportant			Very Important

**8. Do you currently have any transgender friends?**

- Yes
- No

**9. If yes, how many transgender friends do you have? \_\_\_\_\_**

**12. If yes, how much time on average do you spend with your transgender friends per week? (Please respond in hours per week). \_\_\_\_\_**

**11. Do you currently have any transgender family members?**

- Yes
- No

**12. If yes, how many transgender family members do you have? \_\_\_\_\_**

**13. If yes, how much time on average do you spend with your transgender friends per week? (Please respond in hours per week). \_\_\_\_\_**

**14. Do you currently have any other transgender acquaintances?**

- Yes
- No

**15. If yes, how many transgender acquaintances do you have? \_\_\_\_\_**

**15. If yes, how much time on average do you spend with your transgender acquaintances per week? (Please respond in hours per week). \_\_\_\_\_**

---

<sup>1</sup> Single-sample *t*-tests were conducted to determine whether the valence of each stereotype and counter-stereotype trait was significantly negative or positive. Statistical significance was calculated at a probability level of  $p < .01$  to account for suspected inflation of the familywise error rate due to the large number of *t*-tests analyzed. As shown in Table 3 there are no traits in the stereotype and counter-stereotype of transgender men that are significantly different from zero. As shown in Table 4, the only traits significantly different from zero in the stereotype and counter-stereotype of transgender women are “criminal,” “abusive,” “lazy,” and “smelly.” Therefore, the stereotypes of transgender women and men are composed of neutral traits, while the counter-stereotype of transgender women is composed of neutral and negative traits.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with recommended practices when analyzing a scale that is intended to measure a predefined construct and contains subscales that address related aspects of this construct, Principle Axis Factor Analysis with an oblique rotation (Oblimin) should be utilized (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In each case, the number of factors was decided based on an examination of the scree plots and eigenvalues. The WCS has been used to measure the warmth and competence of many social groups’ stereotypes within samples composed of adults from the general population and university students (e.g., Claussel & Fiske, 2005; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002). Originally, this measure was hypothesized to contain two factors, one of which represented the warmth subscale and the other represented the competence subscale. This two-factor structure was supported by Fiske et al. (2002)’s original research.

For the transgender men version of the WCS, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin statistic was .77 and Bartlett’s test was significant at  $X^2(df = 36) = 298.26, p < .01$ , indicating that it is appropriate to factor analyze the data emanating from this version of the WCS. The two-factor solution of the WCS for transgender men explained 51.69% of the variance. The first factor explained 38%

of the variance and had an eigenvalue of 3.41, and the second factor explained 14% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 1.25. Because the WCS has been used frequently with the hypothesized factor structure, a relatively liberal factor loading score cutoff (.4) was employed to determine which items loaded on each factor (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). However, even with this liberal criterion, the items did not load on the expected factors (see Table 5<sup>2</sup>). Factor 1 consisted of both warmth and competence scale items, Factor 2 consisted of only one item (item 5), and two items (items 3 and 4) did not load highly on either factor. Thus, the factor structure of the WCS is not consistent with the two-factor structure found in previous research when employed to measure the stereotype of transgender men. The internal reliability of the warmth sub-scale was moderate,  $\alpha = .77$  (95% confidence interval = .69 - .83); and that of the competence scale was low to moderate,  $\alpha = .57$  (95% confidence interval = .45 - .69).

For the transgender women version of the WCS, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin statistic was .70 and Bartlett's test was significant at  $X^2(df = 36) = 250.29, p < .01$ , suggesting that it is appropriate to factor analyze these data. The two-factor solution of the WCS for transgender women explained 50.69% of the variance. The first factor accounted for 32.8% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 2.95, and the second factor accounted for 17.89% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 1.61. Again, item loadings at or above .4 were retained. As can be seen in Table 6, the factor structure was relatively similar to that hypothesized by Fiske et al. (2002). Item 5, however, was observed to load on Factor 1 while it would be expected to load on Factor 2 with the other Competence scale items. Thus, the factor structure of the WCS also is inconsistent with the hypothesized two-factor structure when employed to measure the stereotype of transgender women. The internal reliability for the warmth and competence subscales were moderate,  $\alpha = .72$  (95% confidence interval = .63 - .79) and  $\alpha = .63$  (95% confidence interval = .51 - .72),

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respectively. Due to the relatively poor psychometric performance of the WCS in the present sample, including the inconsistencies in factor structure and the questionable scale score reliability indicated by the low alpha coefficients, the WCS was not utilized in further analyses.

<sup>3</sup> The TS has been employed to measure prejudice against transgender individuals in one published study to date (Nagoshi et al., 2008). The sample collected in this study was composed of undergraduate students from an American university. The scale was deemed to have a unidimensional structure, in which all items were represented on one factor.

The modified version of the TS was thus also submitted to a factor analysis with an Oblimin rotation. The resultant Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin statistic was .84 and Bartlett's test was significant at  $X^2(df = 66) = 2316.89, p < .01$ , indicating that it is appropriate to conduct factor analyses on these data. The scree plot was examined and a one-factor solution was deemed appropriate. The one-factor solution of the TS explained 46.81% of the variance (eigenvalue = 6.09). All items loaded on one factor at .4 or above (see Table 7). Thus, the one factor structure hypothesized by Nagoshi et al. (2008) appears to be appropriate for the TS. Furthermore, the modified items (items 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10) evidenced strong factor loadings and significant correlations with the original items. Therefore, the modified items assimilate well with the scale structure and original items.